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Illinois School for Extension Workers

Conference Theme:

WHAT IS -

A DESIRABLE NATIONAL

AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM?

October 19 to 22, 1938

University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois

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WHAT IS A DESIRABLE NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM?

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First Day: Backgrounds

WHAT CAN PHILOSOPHY CONTRIBUTE TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING
OF THE PRESENT SITUATION?

Carl F. Taeusch
Program Planning Division, USDA
Washington, D. C.

Dean Blair. Farm Advisers and Home Advisers in Illinois:

I think it is fitting at the beginning of the session of this school in Illinois to express the deep feeling of the various members of the Department in sympathy with the people in Illinois over the loss of Dean Mumford. I have been asked by the Secretary, Henry A. Wallace, and the Under Secretary, M. L. Wilson, to convey this feeling of sympathy. Those of us who knew Dean Mumford personally feel with you in your loss. The negotiations for this school started with a most courteous letter from Dean Mumford opening up the arrangements. And, Dean Blair, I want to thank you for having carried on, and having continued this very gracious invitation to us to come to Illinois. We don't come to a state unless we are invited.

Now we begin our thirty-fourth school for Extension workers. This is the twenty-fifth state in which we have held a school; some states have had repeat schools. We feel now almost as if we were a bit experienced as we have back of us the procedure that has been carried on in one half the states of the union. As Mr. Spitler has indicated to you, there is a certain method of procedure that we have found by experience works fairly well. I assure you that every school that we have held so far has been different from all the others, both as regards content and method. We live in an experimental age and I do not doubt a bit but what there will be suggestions during the course of this school in the direction of improving the method we may be employing here in Illinois. The men who have been gathered here for staff leaders were chosen after a list of names had been submitted to your local staff, and we did our best to comply with your wishes.

You will notice from the program that what we propose to do in these four days is to discuss, in the main, four major topics dealing with agriculture. Today the subject is "Backgrounds." What are the conditions that have brought about the present state of affairs? Tomorrow, "The Place of Government in Modern Society." Do we have too much government? Do we have too little? On the third day, "Regionalism, Nationalism, and Internationalism," and usually with the emphasis on our foreign affairs. On the last day, "Problems of Social Adjustment and Administration." Each morning these topics will be dealt with by three men, one from the point of view of philosophy, one from the point of view of social and economic theory, and another from the point of view of agriculture; although I assure you that there are no water-tight compartments set up to separate these topics, because our political science and agriculture students go over into philosophy just as our philosophers go over into political science and agriculture problems.

What we propose to do today is to present from three points of view what some of us have been thinking are the backgrounds of the present agricultural

situation. And when I say from three points of view I assure you that those points of view will be independent. We have sometimes been accused of having on our staff only those who are in sympathy with the New Deal or with the present program of Agriculture. But I am confident, from my knowledge of the men on this program, that you will not feel that way by the time they get through. As a matter of fact, we have pursued a policy that we think enables us to put on the staff men with healthy, open frames of mind. We go out of our way to get men who have been avowedly opposed to the New Deal or are critical of the agricultural program. That is the problem we thought of quite early and I assure you that we have a degree of independence of thought that will compare favorably with any institution in the educational field.

What can philosophy contribute to a better understanding of the present situation? I am not going to indulge in any facetious remarks regarding philosophy or economics or social theory of agriculture. Undoubtedly there will be some aspersions cast on the subject of philosophy before the week is over but we philosophers have become quite accustomed to that. I am not going to attempt a definition of philosophy. After all it is an attitude of mind. But I am going to confine myself to a particular problem, and after having limited myself in regard to the nature of the problem I am going to revert to the philosopher by asking the question, "What has the human mind been doing during the last two thousand years?" I am asking that question because, after all, when we begin to ask about the human mind--that is the thing we pride ourselves on most, what differentiates us from other animals--we differentiate ourselves from all other life on the ground that we are equipped with a brain and mind that have certain characteristics that are unique and distinct. Now just what has this instrument known as the human mind been doing the last 2,000 years? How does it operate? How has it reacted toward the present situation which admittedly is the most complicated and puzzling situation that the human race has probably ever faced? It may be that a bit of reflective thinking may lead us to use this instrument in such a way as to clarify in some small way the difficulties which we are now facing. Now it would be tempting to start away back and follow the historic procedure by showing the development of the human mind but I am going to reverse that process. I am going to ask: What are some of the characteristics of this modern mind that we all talk about and pride ourselves on? What kind of apparatus have we up here that equips us with the capacity to deal with modern problems? We hear that we have this modern mind, that we live in a scientific age, and that this scientific spirit unquestionably characterizes the modern mind.

Now what I want to do is to point out certain characteristics of what we refer to as the modern mind and see how this modern mind operates in certain particular instances in order to deal with these very complicated problems. I refer to the two characteristics that are very closely related in the modern scientific spirit--experimentation and invention. It has been only within the last few centuries that the human mind has approached problems reflectively by the experimental method. As a matter of fact, at present I think it can safely be said that altho in the whole realm of science the experimental method is the accepted mode of approach, it has been far from the accepted procedure in attempting to solve our social problems. I want to sharpen this attitude of the experimental mind just a little bit further and call your attention to certain features of the way in which the inventive mind has operated and then see whether that possibly might throw some light on the approach we might make to modern conditions--the approach, more specifically, that we may make this week toward the problems that we are going to tackle. In dealing with this inventive characteristic of the human mind I want to refer to some concrete examples of mechanical in-

ventions and then refer to some other fields in which this same attitude of inventiveness has been displayed and from that we may gather a mode of approach to these problems that is quite different from the ordinary course of procedure.

In the field of mechanical invention I wish to refer to three illustrations: first, the invention of the cotton gin. We are all familiar with the tremendous social repercussions that arose out of that one act of the human mind. It seems to me that when we look at the inventive achievement we get the human mind at its very best. Then the question arises as to what was the idea back of the cotton gin. If you go into the study of the situation that had developed at the time of that invention you will find that true to the tradition of southern experience they were trying to invent a machine to take the place of human labor, an exceedingly ingenious device that worked on the principle of picking the seeds out of the cotton bolls. I have had in the sociological laboratory mixed groups, including Southerners, who have been presented with this problem and no Southerner has ever solved it. I teased them because it was a Yankee who had to make this invention. Now the idea that solved that problem was to stop trying to pick the seeds out of the cotton and pick the cotton out of the seeds. When I tell this story to Southerners and they are disturbed by the fact that no Southerner thought of it, I tell them that it just happened that Eli Whitney did marry a Southern woman, and that he did get his idea of picking the cotton out of the seeds; but that, when he was then confronted with the task of getting the cotton off the toothed roller, she opened her vanity case and took out her hair brush and gave him the idea that if you had two brushes revolving at different rates, you could brush the cotton off as desired. It is just another case of some woman having to get a man out of a mess he got into, and making the cotton gin work. The idea representing a complete reversal of the previous procedure.

The second illustration is the invention of the sewing machine. There you have this problem: when sewing goes on, the needle punctures the cloth and then you have to let go the needle and pull it through on the other side and puncture the material again from below. A number of ingenious devices were invented, with alternating clutches to reproduce this process. That is what caused the trouble. Just what was the idea back of the sewing machine? It was rather simple after the principle was reversed, and that was to put the eye of the needle in the point end instead of the opposite end from the point. Notice how similar that is to picking the cotton out of the seeds instead of the seeds out of the cotton.

The third illustration is the telephone. Why was it that it took 20 or more years after the telegraph had been successfully invented? After the invention of the telegraph the men who were on the trail of the telephone followed a most characteristic type of human behavior; that is, they tried to adapt this invention of the telegraph to the problem of a telephone, and it wasn't until after 20 years of failure that the telephone was finally invented. The trick consisted of giving up the idea of a make-and-break circuit which was impossible to utilize in a telephone in order to reproduce the tremendous number of vibrations of the human voice. For 20 years the human mind labored with this problem. It was not until they completely reversed their first point of view that the telephone was successfully achieved.

Now with these simple illustrations of mechanical inventions I wonder if we recognize the clue to one important operation of the human mind, and to one of its faculties which may equip us with the opportunity to use this device that makes us superior to other forms of life.

A broader scale of illustration is in the range of astronomy. One thousand years ago the Ptolemaic system of astronomy regarded the center of the earth as the center of the universe. It was possible to have a science of astronomy along that point of view, for it was actually possible by this method to predict future events. But this method, based on the geocentric point of view, was exceedingly complicated; it was too difficult to figure out the paths of the planets in the simple way which science demands. Copernicus called attention to the fact that all of these complicated events in astronomy could be recorded more simply by shifting the center of attention from the earth to the sun and making the sun the center of the universe. Then astronomy became the relatively simple mechanism that it is today. That Copernican revolution made the modern science of astronomy merely by that shifting.

And now I tread on more dangerous ground in the field of economics. There was a similar revolution in the field of economics in the middle of the last century. The attention of people was called to the fact that instead of regarding the economic process as one in which such things as costs would be calculated and then a certain percentage added in order to find what the sales price should be, the proper approach might be first to inquire how much the people at the consumption end wanted a thing and to translate that want into measurable terms which would determine the price and then calculate back from that how the economic price should be governed. If I were to make a table and keep a cost record of my materials and time, add ten percent for profit, and then put that price on what I should make, I would have to face the fact that perhaps no one would want to buy it. On the other hand, a better course would be for me to find out who wants this object and how much they are willing to pay for it, then working backward, try to find out whether I can intelligently go into the business of making the object.

Probably in the field of agriculture we have gone on the assumption that production was our major and exclusive problem and that after things were produced they would be taken care of by the consumer. I am throwing out the proposition that probably there is another way of looking at this and we should first find out how much of these agricultural products the consumer wants and then attempt to work backward and see how well our distribution system has kept up and then ask whether probably production should not be gauged to that consumption; rather than in the way we think of it that production should be at a maximum at all times, and that there is something wrong either economically or morally about any attempt to adjust that production to what is actually needed in that field--when production gets to where wheat is actually rotting in the field. I shall leave the solution of this problem to the economist. I maintain that the function of philosophy is to raise questions rather than to settle them. That is the modern scientific attitude.

I want to go back now a few centuries when the human mind was operating in a way which satisfied most people. Just how did we get from there to here? How did we progress from the medieval mind? Our modern scientific age must be regarded as a reaction from that great period known as the Middle Ages. What was the characteristic of the human mind in those days when many human minds were all operating in various ways, but all the time in the direction of letting the solution of all social and economic problems run to a hereafter where all suffering and problems would be solved? The human mind of the Middle Ages erected an imaginative canopy over it, so that the solution was largely deferred to another life. A tremendously rigid and complicated behavior. You get it in Dante's Divine

Comedy. The idea of the Holy Grail--or the search for eternal peace--is another illustration. How does it happen that you have a period of fifteen hundred years in which the human mind had recourse to this kind of solution especially when you remember that prior to that time the Greeks were a clear-thinking people?

The Greeks were secular minded and did not attempt to solve problems by some superhuman method. The Greek found himself at home in his world. He understood his environment. A Greek, as G. Lowes Dickinson put it, was "at home in his own universe." If the human mind should have this faculty at the time of the Greeks how does it happen that this mind for a period of 1500 years refused to function properly from a social viewpoint, and why accept it in the modern mind? I am just wondering what happened between the days of the clear-headed Greeks and our modern scientific age, to make people think as they did during the Middle Ages. Was it that the human mind became confused when the Roman state acquired the then known universe and became involved in problems of empires within an empire, of sovereignties within sovereignties, of "E pluribus unum," the problem with which we ourselves are faced? For during the Middle Ages there was also the added problem of the relations between Church and State; with merchant guilds operating so that the individual and the economic group tried to act independently of both. In such a conflict of loyalties, the human mind reacts by saying it is impossible to solve these problems on this earth; the solution then arises in their thinking that some day, somewhere else, there will be peace. Can we revert to the clearer thinking methods of the Greeks, or use in our social problems the same fruitful, experimental approach that is the glory of modern science?

I am pleading that we be a bit sympathetic with these conflicting ideas, for they arise from our complex social experience. Our problems are complicated and we may expect that people will disclose their bewilderment at the present time. It seems to me that philosophy may point to the fact that probably we are going back to the Middle Ages at the present time. Probably we are going back to the Dark Ages; but philosophy holds out the hope that there once developed a people, the Greeks, who did become acquainted with their universe, and that man has a human mind, capable of scientific thinking and that he should be able not only to understand our problems but also to clarify them and solve them. If we have confidence and do our best with this instrument, we should not be afraid to use it.

GENERAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE PRESENT SITUATION

A SUMMARY

Leverett S. Lyon
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This subject, to say the least, is a broad one and obviously needs some definition. Before one can talk about the social-economic background of this or any other situation it is necessary to define just what the situation is, in this case, for example, what we mean by the present situation in agriculture.

I take it that we think of the present situation as needing a remedy. How we define the illness has everything to do with what we will believe to be the nature of the remedy. Let me suggest several definitions of the present agricultural situation.

Some of these will sound facetious to some of you. They are not intended to be so. They are characterizations more or less word for word that I have heard given by various persons. Here are some of them:

(1) The agricultural situation is one in which the prices of farm products are "out of line" with the products farmers buy. More specifically, they are less in proportion than they were at some specified earlier period. Some people make this statement by concluding that farm prices are less than they should be in proportion to products farmers buy.

(2) The farm situation consists of the fact that the total farm income is down from what it was ten years ago, or fifteen years ago.

(3) Some say the farm problem consists of the fact that not all farmers are able to cover their production costs.

(4) Some say the farm problem centers in the fact that the farmer is not able to pay interest on the money he has borrowed to buy his farm.

(5) Still others declare the farm problem is essentially the fact that farmers are not able to sell their staples for enough to cover loans granted them by the government.

(6) Some declare the farm problem is not a problem for the farmers. It is a problem for the rest of the country; the farmers, without regard to the specific need of individuals, have become the beneficiaries of an enormous federal subsidy; they have made one of the largest treasury grabs in the history of the nation.

(7) The farm situation consists of a political awakening in which the farmer is at last finding some compensation for the years of mistreatment under a protective tariff.

(8) The situation consists, some say, of a political racket in which the farmer has the consumer by the throat and is holding him up for hundreds of millions a year, backed by a farm lobby so powerful that there can be no hope of a political change unless an even bigger shakedown is promised.

(9) The farm problem consists, declare still others, of a great social revolution in which the farmer, heretofore defenseless before the forces of nature and the profiteering middlemen, is at last, together with other members of the submerged third, being given a fair share of the national income.

Take your choice. All of these are cited only to give illustrations of how presumably honest people can honestly interpret the situation.

Take your choice.

May I give you one other interpretation of the farm problem? I would put it this way. The farm problem at bottom rests in the fact that the American nation appears to have too much of its land allocated to the production of certain crops and perhaps too many of its population engaged in agricultural pursuits. The task, therefore, is: (a) To find a test by which to determine whether this is so; (b) to apply the test; (c) if it is discovered to be so to find the most desirable method of making the desired readjustments.

Thus stated, the agricultural problem is not a problem of agriculture. It is a problem of the nation.

The problem of allocating the right amount of resources to any one form of production is not limited to agriculture. It is a general problem. It applies to every kind of production in which we are engaged. It is merely the problem of making the best use of all of our resources; that is, of dividing the materials with which we can make goods and services so as to get a maximum of satisfaction. This is never perfectly achieved. We are always engaged in reorganizing to some extent with a view to getting a better approximation.

This problem of allocating the right amount of resources to any one industry--agriculture, for example--is affected by numerous forces, both domestic and foreign. It is these forces external to an industry which cause an industry to exist--which may boom it or break it. Every industry exists because of a demand for its products, either for consumption or for other industrial use, and it exists in competition with them.

The present situation in agriculture can only be understood if we look back at agriculture in relation to other things. The other things which chiefly affected agriculture and brought it to a condition in which we have allocated too much of our national resources to the production of agricultural products in proportion to other things, are: a variety of conditions in Europe, industrialization, war. It is stating what is well known to everyone to say that a large part of the demand for American agricultural products over the decades was built upon foreign demand. While foreign sales of cotton took a larger proportion of the total crop than was true of any other staple, we were for many years extensive exporters of wheat and of corn and other feed crops in the form of meat products.

I shall make no effort in this brief summary to outline the variety of forces which even before the war were causing this export demand to diminish. But it is a fact that exports were declining. Nor shall I try to analyze the various effects of industrialization upon the demand for agricultural products. Some tended to stimulate that demand, but others to decrease it. Perhaps worth mentioning is the substitution of tractor and gas power for animal power with its reduction in animal demand for food supplies. These facts alone would have had an important bearing on the probable overallocation of our resources to agricultural production.

Then came the war. In a response to war needs the agricultural plant was greatly extended. Wide acreage was opened on the plains; and under the stimulation of war prices and prospects there was an allocation of land to the production of certain crops far in excess of anything we had had before. Needless to say no little of this was financed as war babies are often financed, by borrowed money.

At the close of the war there was a great drop in domestic demand and a revival of European demand little beyond that which was financed by American loans. This left an agricultural plant overbuilt in terms of national and international demands. We were in agriculture where we were in facilities for the manufacture of war materials. The national problem was, therefore, the problem of reducing that plant and the allocation of personnel to it with a minimum of loss and difficulty.

Much of our agricultural history since the war has been a series of proposals of one kind or another, presumably made toward the alleviation of this situation. It is not part of my assignment to discuss these various efforts nor the one at present in operation. It is perhaps within the proper range of the topic given me to say, however, that in the years since the war we have developed an ideological background in terms of which we find it necessary to deal with the problem as it confronts us today.

An important element in this problem and one which I believe is unfortunate is the fact that we have fallen into the habit of viewing it as the problem of agriculture as such rather than the problem of agriculture in the nation. We have been engaged in a series of experiments designed to help agriculture and agriculturists; we have not been engaged in a series of experiments designed essentially to give agriculture an appropriate place in the nation's economy as a whole. The result is that we have tended to think of relieving agriculturists in a bad situation rather than relieving the nation in a bad situation. If it is true that the central difficulties in the farm problem grow from an undue allocation of resources to agricultural production, methods designed primarily for the appeasement of farmers in that situation--the maintenance of prices, the postponement or modification of debts, and the like--may freeze the agricultural problem or transfer some of its more painful aspects to other parts of the nation. But it is doubtful if they can remedy it in any fundamental terms. As I have said, an appraisal of the programs we have tried is not my assignment. But if I may repeat, I say what I have said because as we confront the problem today part of today's background is the efforts we have made to remedy it and most important the ideas concerning its nature which have come to be more or less accepted as the proper approach.

IMMEDIATE BACKGROUNDS OF PRESENT AGRICULTURAL POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

Henry C. Taylor
Director, Farm Foundation
Chicago, Illinois

In this paper especial attention is given to the inter-occupational distribution of goods and services, as influenced by the limitation of competition. The farmers' major economic problem in recent years has had to do with the ratio at which farm products have exchanged for the goods and services of those engaged in other occupations. Much of the time since 1921, at least five car loads of farm products have been sent to the city in exchange for the quantities of city products received prior to the World War for four car loads of farm products. These exchanges are dealt with in economic statistics largely in terms of price ratios. In using the price figures, it is of vital importance to keep in mind that the improvement of price ratios may not help the farmer materially if he simply sends less goods to the market in order that the price he receives may be more nearly comparable to the price he pays. The thing which is required to improve the well-being of farmers is an increased production of city goods to be exchanged for farm products on a basis which will provide an abundance of all kinds of products for all producers in the city and in the country, in proportion to the skill and energy contributed by each.

We are speaking here of farmers engaged in commercial agriculture. The farmers who produce primarily for the satisfaction of their own wants are, of course, little affected by the ratios of exchange. Their well-being depends upon their opportunity and their efficiency as producers. This is true of a very high percentage of the farmers of the world today, particularly in India and China. It is true, also, in many of the less fertile regions of the United States. No place has been found, however, where self-sufficing farmers are able to secure a high living standard. Of these we are not now speaking, but rather of the farmers in the fertile regions where cotton, corn, wheat, tobacco, fruits, vegetables, dairy products, meat, and wool are produced in large quantities primarily for the market, and where the farmers buy in the channels of commerce most of the things they consume, as well as the tools, machinery, fertilizer, etc., required for production.

For the commercial farmer, the quantity he may produce and the ratio at which he may exchange his products for the goods and services of others, determine his well-being. Commercial agriculture gives the only hope for high living standards for farm people, but this hope can be realized in full only under a national economy which insures an equitable basis of exchange of the goods or services of one occupational group for the goods and services of the others. The classical economists believed that with freedom of enterprise, competition would result in the production of abundance of all kinds of goods and their exchange at fair ratios, that the relative prices of the various products would be such that those producing each of the various goods and services would receive in exchange for his products a supply of the products of others, in proportion to his contribution to others. But the discovery that certain producers and service agencies possessed the power to limit competition and thus influence prices, revealed the fact that competition could not always be depended upon to insure fair exchange ratios for goods and services. This led to the imposing of government restrictions intended to restore competition or to guarantee fair prices where monopoly is inevitable. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Interstate Commerce Commission embodied major prewar efforts of the United States Government to maintain fair prices.

The problem of securing greater economic well-being for farmers has been approached first from one angle and then another. During the first decade of the 20th century, the farm leaders and the agricultural economists of the United States assumed that competition, supplemented by government control of monopolies, could be counted upon to provide a fair basis of exchange of their products for the products of those in other occupations. Their attention was directed almost wholly to the problems of efficiency in production. Their studies included the economical size of farms, the right combination of enterprises with a view to maximum economy in the utilization of labor and equipment, questions pertaining to the relation of landlord and tenant, and the means of acquiring land ownership on the part of farmers through savings from their profits and the use of credit facilities.

During the second decade of the present century, the focus of interest of the farm leaders and the agricultural economist was shifted to the problem of agricultural marketing. Farmers had come to believe that the benefits resulting from increasing efficiency in production were being absorbed by middlemen. Government regulation was urged not only of railway rates, but also of the charges for marketing facilities and services. Cooperation was advocated as a means of reducing the middlemen charges in buying as well as in selling. In the local processing and marketing of farm products, the cooperatives were highly successful in reducing local middlemen charges. For a few years after the World War, cooperation was even looked upon by many popular leaders as the method to be followed in maintaining fair exchange ratios between the staple farm products such as wheat, cotton and tobacco, and the things which farmers buy.

The third decade of this century revealed clearly that while farmers were increasing their efficiency in production and marketing, they were securing an ever-decreasing per capita share of the national income. In the period from 1910-14, farmers and their families representing 34 per cent of the total population received 17 per cent of the total national income. In the period from 1930-34, the agricultural population was 25.2 per cent of the total and agriculture received only 8.7 per cent of the total national income.

Table 1.--Agriculture's Share of the National Income
(Averages for 5-year periods)

Years	Total national income (million dollars)	Agricultural income		Total population (thousands)	Farm population	
		(million dollars)	(per cent of total)		(thousands)	(per cent of total)
1910-14	30,067	5,108	17.0	94,374	32,105	34.0
1915-19	46,575	8,939	19.2	101,466	31,904	31.4
1920-24	62,739	8,335	13.3	109,040	31,486	28.9
1925-29	76,204	8,407	11.0	117,364	30,532	25.9
1930-34	55,906	4,881	8.7	124,351	31,349	25.2

Source of data:

United States Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Agriculture's Share in the National Income, October, 1935.

The study of the ratio at which goods were exchanged, in terms of price ratios, showed that following the depression of 1921, the prices of the things farmers buy remained relatively high, while the prices of farm products fell to low levels. The maintenance of the high prices of the things farmers buy was attributed in part to a relaxation of the efforts of the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission to maintain competitive conditions among producers, and in part to the development of institutes the function of which was to bring together the leaders in each line of production or distribution for the promotion of their common interests, and particularly to so limit production as to give their products a high ratio of exchange for the products of others. These institutes are believed to have wielded considerable influence during the period from 1921 to 1929 in reducing price competition in a very large number of lines of production. The protective tariff, which in itself accounted for the limited supply and high prices of many products provided a national setting for the system of limitation of competition and price control.

Organized labor, sheltered by the immigration laws and aided by federal legislation, has been successful in maintaining wage rates on a high level. For the five years, 1930-1934, wage rates per hour were 102 per cent above the prewar level whereas the cost of living was only 46 per cent higher than the prewar level. On the other hand, for the same period, the prices received for farm products were 12 per cent below prewar prices and the prices farmers paid for food, clothing, building material, machinery, fertilizer and other supplies required in farming were 22 per cent above prewar prices. Thus, while the purchasing power of the wage scale was 38 per cent above prewar, the purchasing power of farm products was 28 per cent below.

While labor and capital were finding means of maintaining wages and prices behind the tariff walls, the major staples of agriculture were still produced for the foreign as well as for the domestic market, and benefited neither by the protective tariff, the immigration law, nor by concerted action in maintaining prices. The prices of the things farmers sell continued to be determined by free competition, while the prices of the things they buy were more and more subjected to groupistic control; hence the ratio at which farm products exchanged for city products was unsatisfactory to the farmer.

When the agricultural economists saw clearly that the major difficulty was arising not so much from low prices for farm products as from the high prices paid for the things the farmers buy, they started an educational campaign. Month by month, price ratios were published. The index of farm prices was placed along side of the index of the prices of the things which farmers buy. This educational work was effective. It was not long until the center of interest of the more alert agricultural leaders shifted to the problem of parity prices. More favorable price ratios and parity incomes for farmers became the goal. But how were parity prices to be secured--through leveling down or leveling up? The leveling up of the prices of farm products through limitation of production might produce balance scarcity. Leveling up the quantities of industrial products to be exchanged for the given supply of farm products might produce balanced abundance, but this terminology had not yet been developed.

Among the leaders there were those who believed the solution of the problem lay in leveling down the prices of things farmers buy through a frontal attack upon the excessive protective tariffs and upon price-fixing in industry,

as well as upon excessive charges for middlemen services. Others contended that under the Administration then in power (1921-1932), it would be futile to call for so sound a political economy because of the opposition of industrial capital and labor; that the only hope lay in a "back door attack" upon the tariff by asking for "equality for agriculture" through an equalization fee and by counter-balancing the restriction in production in other occupations by the restriction of agricultural production. There was no one among the agricultural economists or prominent farm leaders of the time who claimed this to be good political economy, but in the end, all agreed that it was the only available expedient. They believed it necessary for farmers to participate in the groupistic struggle if they were not to be exploited continuously. They hoped the economic war between the groups might lead to a peace and that justice might prevail.

Mr. Gompers helped give this groupistic turn to the agrarian movement. At the National Agricultural Conference in Washington in January, 1922, Gompers described the methods used by organized labor. He explained to the farmers that he had advised laborers to take all their punishment in unemployment rather than in wage reduction. He then pointed his finger at the assembled farmers and said, "Go thou and do likewise." Thus, it came to pass that farmers entered the groupistic struggle calling for price controls in the form of the McNary-Haugen Bill, the Export Debenture Scheme, and the Domestic Allotment Plan, all of which had for their purpose the restoration of price ratios and the reestablishment of parity incomes for farmers.

The Federal Farm Board, established in 1929, was the first actual response by Government to this demand of the farmers. It was not what the farmers had asked for and it was not a success, but its failure was not due to any lack of willingness, interest, or ability on the part of the members of the Board. They were assigned an impossible task, and nature did not give them a break. With a change in administration in 1933, the Government did not reverse the trend and turn to the restoration of the competitive system, but rather put on full steam ahead to solve the economic problem through artificially created scarcity. The Farm Board was replaced by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration which, when supplemented by special laws providing for loans on cotton and other products, carried forward the major market control practices of the Farm Board, and adopted the principle of limitation of production which had been urged by the Farm Board as necessary to market stabilization. In general, the purpose of the AAA was to put the farmers in a position to hold their own in the interoccupational groupistic conflict over the interoccupational distribution of the national income.

But no sooner was the AAA created than the NRA was set up to consolidate and legalize all that had been gained clandestinely and otherwise by both labor and capital through wage and price control. In one year, the NRA made more progress toward the unification of the various branches of industrial production than had been made in twelve years in Italy. The NRA had in it the potentiality of more than counterbalancing any help the AAA could possibly give to the farmers.

In May, 1935, the Supreme Court chloroformed the NRA and in January, 1936, the major part of the AAA was declared unconstitutional. Since the NRA was brought to a close, industrial management has again found itself intermittently subject to the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and the Federal Trade Commission. Agriculture has been given a new AAA intended to accomplish the purpose of the original Act. Labor has been given the Wagner Act which may prove more effective than

the NRA in giving organized labor control over wage rates and conditions of labor. The serious question which arises alike with respect to the AAA and the Wagner Act relates to whether higher prices for farm products secured through artificial scarcity and high wage rates per hour accompanied by wide-spread unemployment can be expected to provide better living standards for either the one or the other of these two groups of working people.

While wage rates per hour have remained high, payrolls have been at a low level much of the time. High wage rates have been accompanied by wide-spread and protracted unemployment. Unemployment has lessened the demand for farm products without a corresponding relaxation in the prices of the things farmers buy. The wage rates per hour in industry, in transportation, and in the middleman services determine, in a large measure, what farmers pay for what they buy; but it is not the wage rate per hour, but the size of the payrolls and the number employed which determine the demand for farm products. The farmer may find a common cause with labor in maintaining stable payrolls.

While it was the system of limitation of competition in other occupations that led farmers to call upon the government to help them introduce the AAA system of production and marketing control with a view to securing parity prices for their products, can the standard of living of the people of a nation be satisfactory where everyone is insisting upon producing less in order to secure higher wage rates or higher prices? Obviously it can not. Many of those who are participating in the intergroup struggle in which each group is trying to get more and more for less and less, realize the ultimate futility of the struggle. They know that the need is for a balanced abundance instead of an allround scarcity encouraged by the Government. There are those who question the wisdom of trying to return to the competitive system, but they are vague as to an alternative. There are others who believe the return to the competitive system is the best way out of our difficulty; that it has been the excessive and unequal limitation of price and wage competition which has resulted in the present depression; that the restoration of competition with adequate safeguards is the quickest and safest way to open the road to full production and a balanced abundance.

The question which the farm economists and agricultural leaders have had to face is this: Shall we make a frontal attack upon the tariff in order that our foreign markets for farm products may be maintained and in order that the tariff may not be a means of maintaining excessive prices for the things farmers buy, or shall we seek some means of making the tariff effective on farm products of which we produce a surplus? They are confronted also with the question: Shall we make a frontal attack upon the methods used by industry and labor to limit competition and maintain rigid prices and wage scales or shall we continue to endeavor to find a means of limiting agricultural production in such a manner as to maintain the prices of farm products on a parity with the prices of things farmers buy?

The two things of basic importance in any future economic system are the abundance of economic goods and the ratio at which the products of the various occupations shall be exchanged. Many economic thinkers appear to see nothing beyond the adjustment of the conflicting interests involved in the distribution of the factory sales price of a specific product among the labor, capital and management of that enterprise. The fact that the price of the particular good should have a just relation to the prices of other kinds of goods produced by other people in other occupations has been too largely overlooked.

Agricultural leaders have gradually learned that the forces which determine the ratio at which their goods exchange for the products of other occupations is determined by forces over which they personally have little control, by forces of nature, and by forces which are controlled by the representatives of the other occupations. The problem which confronts them today is whether or not they can find any means of adjusting price ratios and at the same time continue to produce abundantly.

Leading agricultural economists believe that the true solution lies in a more abundant production of the things farmers may buy, under conditions of freer competition both with respect to prices and the elements of cost of transportation and other middlemen charges. While the best students in the field of agriculture are of this opinion--they get more encouragement from politicians, labor leaders, and even from some industrial leaders, in trying to do for agriculture that which other occupations are doing to limit competition and maintain prices than they receive for making a frontal attack upon the whole regime of group limitation of competition. They agree that groupistic limitation of production has in it little hope of providing just ratios of exchange of farm products for the products and services of other occupations, that limitation of competition carried forward equally in all lines of production and service can result in nothing but reduced production and lower standards of living for all the people of the nation. Obviously the thing which is needed is a statesmanlike approach to the problem of the interoccupational exchange of goods and services which will result in large production in all fields exchanged on a basis which will enable those of equal skill and energy to live equally well.

The writer believes there are many members of the capitalist groups, of the labor groups, and of the farm groups who feel dissatisfied with groupism. He has met business men in the fields of manufacturing, transportation, and commerce, and likewise leaders in the field of agriculture and labor, who would like to be able to abandon methods which are forced upon them by the very nature of the intergroup conflict. The solution of the present national economic problem may be found when the leaders of the management groups, the labor groups, the agricultural groups, and the political groups sit down together and agree to cooperate in promoting the general welfare.

This calls for a political economy which will encourage balanced abundance and parity real incomes for comparable services. It is a function of government to respond to this need by discouraging selfish groupistic policies and by developing a truly national economic policy. The government should not be taking a hand on all sides in the intergroup struggle. The government should take the lead in developing the rules of the game in the interest of the general welfare, and should serve as the umpire. The means of accomplishing this end is subject matter for intergroup conferences and calls for a high order of statesmanship on the part of the leaders in agriculture, industry, and labor, as well as in the halls of Congress and in the White House.

FREEDOM AND RESTRICTION IN A DEMOCRACY

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Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is true that this is in a sense a Homecoming for me. The less reverent of my colleagues would probably say it is a case of the murderer returning to the scene of his crime, in view of the fact that I spent one year at this University teaching philosophy. As a matter of fact, this very stage is a fitting setting for my return because on several occasions I played here in the symphony orchestra under the baton of Mr. Harding. It is a genuine pleasure therefore for me to be here.. I also want to express my pleasure to those who have given me, a philosopher--or better, a teacher of philosophy--an opportunity not only to appear on this program but also to attend the panel discussion

There is an old Dutch saying that "a bird must sing according to the way his beak has grown." I am, therefore, compelled to speak as a teacher of philosophy. Now, this may not arouse any great enthusiasm in your souls. A philosopher's conversation is notoriously abstract. There is a story going the rounds in philosophical circles which is supposed to be an example of a typical philosophical conversation: There were two men sitting in the back room of a thirst parlor drinking beer. They had arrived at that stage when great confidence exuded from their souls and universal kindness had taken possession of them. One said to the other: "What do you think of that man Brown?" The second one replied, "What's Brown's name?" The first one said "who" and this is supposed to be an example of a typical philosophical conversation.

Not only is there mistrust of philosophic conversation, but the whole enterprise of philosophy is suspected. There is doubt as to its usefulness; sometimes even of its rationality. It is not that philosophy leaves problems unanswered, say the critics, it is occupied with problems that do not exist. There is a very friendly but pointed story about the great philosopher Josiah Royce, a story told on him by his wife. She said that her husband's philosophical activities reminded her of a little game her daughter used to play. The daughter used to come into the living room and hide her doll some place in the room. She would then leave the room for a few minutes, come back, and say to herself, "I wonder where that doll is." She would make much pretense of looking everywhere. Finally, she would take the doll from where she had hidden it and would express great joy in finding what she herself had concealed. That was Mrs. Royce's impression of her husband's philosophical activities.

These stories are good natured slanders, intended to entertain rather than to instruct. It is true that we talk a peculiar professional lingo, too much so. Philosophers in history have suffered painful embarrassment, not because non-philosophers have failed to understand them - this does not embarrass philosophers in the slightest - but because they have very frequently not understood one another. They have become confused by their own terminology.

I have been, in a small way, a crusader in philosophy for simplicity of language. I belong to the Society for the Reduction of Unintelligibility. I shall try, therefore, to reveal rather than to conceal my thoughts on this occasion. If there is anything to this doctrine that occupational influences have an effect upon your thinking as well as your language, perhaps I am in a better position to speak clearly than the regular run-of-the-mill teacher of philosophy. To tell you the terrible truth, I am also a dean, and a dean is much nearer than a philosopher to the practical problems of living; his experiences are on a less ethereal and abstract level. And that has had a good effect on my language, as I shall try to prove to you today.

As has been announced, the topic I want to discuss with you is, "Liberty and Restriction in a Democracy." I would like you to substitute "restraint" for "restriction." I have proposed to the authorities of this institute that I be permitted to treat this topic in two lectures, the theory today and the application tomorrow morning. Today I wish to discuss particularly the problem of restraint and that from the standpoint of the citizen rather than from the standpoint of the government. I think you will agree with me that this is a very timely topic, one of the reasons being that it has been considerably neglected in our thinking about our present day problems.

Our founding fathers neglected consideration of it. The reason for this was that their political ideas and emotions represented a reaction to denial of liberty by absolute monarchies. For them, the need of liberty was more urgent than the need of restraint, and since then in our history the problem has had little consideration. Our founding fathers desired relief from the restraints of government. This insufficient consideration of restraint was continued in our frontier civilization. On the frontier there was plenty of elbow room. A pioneer needs little government. In case of conflict a man could pack up and escape restraint. In that day, action, as we would like to think, was free, and the spirit was free. Whatever may be the disagreements between those who reflect on the present status of our civilization, all are agreed that this frontier era has gone for good. A frontier era is over when a man is no longer able to move into a new pasture. Now all pastures are crowded. We have, therefore, to face, frankly and seriously, this problem of restraint from the standpoint of the citizen. The time has come to stop complaining emotionally about encroachments on our liberty and to begin thinking intelligently about the problem of restraint.

This topic is also a timely one because other nations have not only been thinking about it but they also have been doing something about it. There are three countries today in which something definite has been done about restraint, not by mild, gradual, orderly measures, but by radical violent measures: Russia, Germany, and Italy. Both Communism and Fascism are theories and forms of government which emphasize restraint over freedom. In fact, freedom is so limited and is confined within such narrow bounds as to have been almost abolished.

Certainly those forms of government are not the places for the free-thinking, free-talking and free-acting American. The serious thing about it is that this is not just a temporary curtailment, as in an emergency such as in time of war: it is a deliberate conviction; it is what political theorists like to call an ideological principle. It is fundamental to the theory as well as to form of government. In fact, it is the very essence of both Fascism and Communism.

The discussion is also timely because it appears to many observers far more competent than myself that Europe is headed for a death struggle between two

forms of government, one which emphasizes liberty by suppressing it, and one which emphasizes liberty by advocating it. The first emphasizes restraint, the second freedom. Communism and Fascism both advocate restraint, though not the same variety. Democracies on the other hand advocate freedom. In this struggle we shall have to take sides; we shall have to be moral participants at least.

Finally this topic is timely because the issue is being drawn in our own country. Political antagonisms are forcing otherwise mildly differing people into sharply opposing camps. People are driving one another to extreme positions. Extremists are not inclined to sit around the council table and deliberate, but they are anxious to promote action and they lay the groundwork for extreme measures. They become radical and make radical movements inevitable. They force upon us revolutions and wars.

It is high time, therefore, that we should sit down and discuss this issue calmly, without political partisanship. Remember there are two great enemies of deliberation and compromise: The first one is the professional partisan politician, the man whose life work it is to persuade people to elect him to office. He will try to make you believe that the choice between him and his opponent, between his party and his opponent's party, is a choice between salvation and damnation. He does not want you to think, only to persuade you to vote for him. The second enemy is the fanatic, the extreme or radical proponent of what he calls a principle or principles. His extremism is justified only if there are only two points of view: one all good, his own, and another all bad. Name-calling is his favorite technique. If you do not accept his ideas you are something ridiculous or extreme; he calls you something that has a bad odor or that is in disrepute. For example, if you find justification in Germany's demand for the Sudetenland, he calls you a Fascist. If the partisan is a Liberal, he will call you a Conservative. If he is a Conservative, he will call you a Communist. If you express approval of one of the objectives or policies of the New Deal, the Conservative will call you a Communist. If you object to one, the Liberal calls you a capitalist, usually qualified by some uncomplimentary adjective. This extremism professional philosophies call the doctrine of the "either/or." The attitude which it implies is largely an emotional one, and is fatal to calm critical analysis, to compromise, and to adjustment. This attitude splits democracy into two uncompromisingly opposed camps and is therefore fatal to democracy.

This is a dangerous era in our history for such extreme emotional attitudes. In the consideration of such a problem as freedom and restraint in a democracy there is no room for extremism in our democracy. For the extremes between which we are supposed to choose are anarchy, which is no government at all, and dictatorship, another name for tyranny; I wish to avoid the mistake of extremism. I propose, therefore, to think aloud for a few minutes about the problem. I have no new ideas on the subject. Probably you will even think my ideas naive.

It may be well to re-state the problem. The real issue is "What is the proper balance between freedom and restraint in a democracy from the standpoint of the citizen?" Note the words "in a democracy." The title commits me to democracy. I don't believe I am begging the question for I selected this title after the address was finished. The title implies that thinking about the problem of freedom and restraint has led me to believe, or to continue to believe, that democracy is the best form of government, and that its principal problem is

the matter of balancing freedom and restraint. In Fascism and Communistic forms of government they are already hopelessly unbalanced. My task is to prove, to the satisfaction of myself at least, that democracy is the form of government best suited to maintain the proper balance.

There are two stages of proof: (1) that this statement is true for the principles of democracy, and (2) that it is true for the practices of democracy. Here is a very important distinction which is sometimes not sufficiently emphasized. There is a very important difference between democracy on paper, in the speeches and writings of political theorists, or in the Constitution, on the one hand; and, democracy in action, in the White House, in Congress, in the Supreme Court, in the arena of practical politics on the other hand. It is comparatively easy to build a good logical form of government which satisfies the mind. As a philosopher I know that our libraries are full of finely constructed systems. All problems would long ago have been settled if a nice water-tight system of ideas could accomplish this. The problem is to devise systems that will work. To solve this problem requires on the part of the student of democracy a complete knowledge of the most interesting, fascinating, uncertain, cantankerous, unpredictable thing in the cosmos, namely, human nature, otherwise known as the voter. For the important thing is not what the political theorist or the Congress, or the Supreme Court, or the Constitution, says the citizen should have, but what the citizen thinks he should have, and what he wants.

I think that here is a clue to the solution of our problem. Our democracy is the form of government best suited to maintain a balance, because, first, it gives the voter periodic opportunities to announce what he wants and more or less to get it. Secondly, after he has done so, it makes him like it, it makes him live within the course of action he has decided on, at least until the next election, at which time he can, if he likes, announce the fact that he has changed his mind. In the first principle we have the principle of freedom, in accordance with it the voter is granted the opportunity to announce what he wants. In the second, we have the principle of restraint; the voter must live with what he has chosen, at least until the next election. In other words, in a democracy the people commit themselves to a political (that is, economic and social) course of action, but they can change their minds. Democracy is, therefore, self-corrective. This is the most important characteristic of democracy and is in my opinion, a virtue that democratic forms of government have that makes them superior to other forms of government.

Fascism and Communism are not self-corrective. Why not? Because in an autocratic form of government the minds of the citizens do not count. Moreover, it is a crime for the citizen to announce that he has changed his mind. Under the Fascist or totalitarian form of government, you exist solely for the State and therefore you really have no business having an independent mind of your own. The only mind that counts is that intangible, unapproachable, mysterious abstraction called the racial mind, which, for reasons still more mysterious, has taken up permanent residence in the cranium of the dictator. A dictator cannot be defeated by means of democratic election; he can only be defeated by revolution.

Communism is no better off. Why not? Because according to communistic theory the world revolution of the proletariat is a cosmic law, having all the force of a law of Nature. The world revolution must come like winter or like a storm. It involves certain inescapable political, economic, and social conse-

quences. We have no choice with respect to the acceptance of this cosmic law. Therefore your particular mind, or the mind of any one else, has nothing to do with it. The cosmic will alone counts; your mind or will does not. How ridiculous to think that you can vote whether or not the world revolution is to come! You might as well vote on whether the sun will rise tomorrow morning or not. Of course, should you be so foolish as to want to vote against the coming of the world revolution of the proletariat, it will become necessary to purge the body politic of you or to liquidate you. It is no use to send you to another country, because there, too, you will be an obstacle to the coming of the world revolution. To be sure, it will come in spite of you, but it simplifies matters to get rid of you. This of course gives the whole communist show away, for it reveals that the Communist has no faith in the coming of the world revolution as a result of cosmic law; it reveals that he, too, believes that political and economic and social changes are expressions of what man wants and not what the cosmos wants. It explains how it comes about that Stalin and Trotsky do not seem to have news from the same cosmos.

To this principle that the people's will must rule, we must therefore commit ourselves in a democracy. Governments must be what the people want them to be and they must do what the people want them to do. Governments therefore must be sensitive to the will of the people. People must have periodic opportunity to register their will, to "correct" their mistakes. This is the very essence of democracy and constitutes the element of freedom. This implies with regard to the character of the citizen the principle of approximate equality and that each citizen is capable of voting and is therefore to be allowed to vote. It also implies something with respect to the personality of the citizen. It is the putting into application of the philosopher Kant's doctrine that every man has within himself a moral principle by which he can trust himself to be guided. Every man must be looked upon as an end in himself and not merely as a means. The reverse is true in Fascism and Communism. In Communism every man is looked on as a means and is merely a tool of the State, a mere unit of a race; in Communism, man is an instrument of a cosmic law.

Once the people have recorded their will, the problem of restraint becomes acute. The will of the majority, as a result of the election, has become the will of the people. The majority has a right to rule until the next formal registration of the will of the people. The individual voter must obey the will of the people until the next expression of the popular will. This is the second great principle, the will of the majority becomes the will of the people. The minority is to have freedom of expression, freedom to campaign, freedom to use every moral and legal means in an effort to change the opinion of the majority of the voters, but during the time that it is doing so it must obey the will of the majority.

The important question immediately arises: Are there any subjects on which the majority shall not have the right to enforce its will upon the minority? According to our principle, the answer is, yes. Certain interests of citizens are excluded by agreement recorded in the Constitution, for example, religion, because religion is not supposed to involve political issues. There must, therefore, be no political "restraint" in the field of religion.

Granted that there are certain interests excluded by the Constitution, the question still remains, is there no limit to the extent to which the Constitution may be changed? Must we allow that the Constitution may be changed in the matter of the basic principles of democracy? The Constitution has a double

nature: (1) There are certain principles prescribed which must be expressed in democratic government. (2) But there are also rules of political procedure laid down for the realization of these principles. In both respects democracy differs from other forms of government. These two aspects of the Constitution are often confused. Some think of democracy only in terms of certain unchangeable sacred principles; others refuse to grant the permanence of any constitutional principles.

Many books have been written on the real or supposed principles laid down in the Constitution. Especially interesting is the question of the principles of liberty which are supposed to be expressed or implied in the Constitution. Either these principles that the Constitution contains were conceived by the founding fathers in terms of the life of that era and should therefore be revised when changed conditions make this necessary or the founding fathers were foresighted enough to realize that they should speak in general terms and did just that. For example, take the matter of state rights, an issue that has always been very important for the section of the country in which I live. Since our founding fathers could not have anticipated the automobile, the transportation of stolen cars could not have been anticipated. It is foolish to say, therefore, that the Federal laws on this subject violate the principles of state rights.

Let us take religious freedom as another illustration. Suppose a religious sect arose in this country which not only was opposed to war but believed that war is sinful and that it should prevent and hinder a war even after it had been declared. This would be treason from the standpoint of the Constitution of the United States. Would punishment of this be a violation of the principle of religious liberty laid down in the Constitution? No, because that was not what the founding fathers meant by religion.

If we conclude that the Constitution as it stands is not the final word but must be constantly adapted to new conditions the next question is, who must do this? The Constitution provides, at least to a certain extent, that the Supreme Court shall do this. Suppose the majority of people do not like the decisions of the Supreme Court. Well, say some, all objectors will have an opportunity to register their opinions in the next election. Others say that this is carrying democracy too far and that voters should not have the right to vote on the opinions or decisions of the Supreme Court. This last position implies that we must look upon the Supreme Court as an independent body of men responsible only to their own consciences, and as the sole authority for the interpretation of law, and therefore as the creators of law.

There is much confusion on this point which is caused in part by the failure to understand the nature of a democratic form of government. What are we to do about this dispute? What attitude or position are we to take? I think the answer lies not in the proposition that the Constitution not only lays down certain principles of government but also certain rules of procedures for government. Procedures of government must be democratic, that is, they must be directed by majority rule. The restraints provided in the Constitution should also be operative on the process of government. Since the Constitution also provides for change, the conclusion is that there may be change but that change should be brought about in accordance with the rules. Two positions are therefore definitely ruled out: the position that there should be no change and the position that revolution is a proper means of bringing change about. The Constitution not only puts restraint on change as such but also on the speed of change. This

applies also to the Supreme Court. The President appoints with the approval of Congress. But the President and Congress are elected. The control of the people is thus indirect. In the meantime, radical and sudden changes are properly guarded against. But in the last analysis the final power still lies with the people, so that if the people desire a certain interpretation of the Constitution, they can ultimately get it.

Of the two aspects of our Constitution, principles and procedure, procedure turns out to be the more important. Change the processes of democracy and you fatally and finally change your form of government. Processes must be protected so that the minority can become the majority. Protection of the minority rights, free speech, right to political activity, etc., are the only things that keep democracy from becoming an autocracy. We must admire the great wisdom of the founding fathers in providing for change but for providing for a low speed limit in change.

There is one more question to be faced in this connection, and I have always found it an embarrassing one. Suppose the majority wished by means of the democratic process to change to another form of government, say Communism or Fascism, and suppose that then by a majority vote they expressed the desire to make such a change and to adopt a new Constitution. Would this be in accord with our present Constitution? This seems somewhat like a purely theoretical question, but it really is not. It implies the establishment of an autocracy by democratic procedure. It would mean the destruction of democracy. We have always thought that this issue is not important, and that it would never arise. It seems, however, that there are indications that it may arise. We may be able to suppress Fascism and Communism up to a certain point, but suppose the majority of the people become Fascists or Communists and then in a proper, orderly democratic election they decide that they want to change to another form of government permanently. Frankly I do not know the final answer to this question. My first comment is that it certainly was not intended by the founding fathers. They intended a perpetuation of the democratic process. However, this is not what contemporary communists intend. They claim freedom of political action so that they may destroy the Constitution which guarantees that freedom. Although this seems to some of us to be a thoroughly unreasonable and self-contradictory attitude it is openly advanced by the communists and it may spread and become general. My second comment is that there is nothing to prevent it if the majority of the people want it. But it is for us who love and who need freedom to try to demonstrate to our fellow-citizens that this would be a tragic mistake. It would be a tragic and a fatal mistake because it would prevent the possibility not only of the minority but even of the majority ever again expressing its wish except by force and revolution and because it would prevent correction and therefore social and economic progress by any other means. It would solidify and freeze political thought and political action.

The strong point of democracy is that in a democracy we have the opportunity for orderly change, which is the principle of freedom. The weak point in a democracy is the lack of restraint, and that is a practical problem which we have to face. A favorite saying is that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." This is true enough, but it is also true that restraint is necessary to the perpetuation of a democratic form of government; obedience to law and submission to the will of the majority is necessary to preserve that form of government which permits liberty.

One more important point about democracy is that no one has in my opinion the right, on any grounds, to assume that any particular social or economic

principle is the last word on that subject. The nature of political change should be dictated by the nature of social and economic needs. There is nothing permanent or absolute here. The only thing to which we are committed is that the people must be left free to make such changes as they may see fit, the indication of such changes being left to experience. This, autocracies and dictatorships such as Fascism and Communism deny.

In conclusion, let me say that restraint and freedom are based on two great principles: (1) Every man should be looked upon as an end not merely as a means, as Kant said. (2) In a democracy the citizen must be free to change his mind periodically, but he is bound to abide by his decision until the next opportunity to change his mind. The basic principle here is the timing of change. All this implies that the citizen of a democracy shall be willing, and shall continue to be willing, to be committed to the preservation of the principles of the democratic process.

To preserve these principles of democracy therefore, a very definite kind of political personality is essential, a certain kind of political character. This, in my opinion, reduces itself in the last analysis to a kind of moral character. The greatest threat to democracy at the present time is the demoralization of the moral personality of the citizen, both as a voter and as an officeholder. The greatest problem, therefore, is the problem of the education of our children so that they will develop the proper type of morals. The definition of the moral character of the democratic citizen and of the problem of his education, so that in him freedom and restraint may be balanced, will be the subject of inquiry in my next lecture.

THE RELATION OF GOVERNMENT TO SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

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 Washington, D. C.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I was very much delighted with the remarks of the speaker who preceded me, partly because they fit so nearly into some of the observations that I think properly fall under the subject which has been given me and partly because they lay a very helpful basis for some of the things I think worthy of saying under this subject. I enjoyed it also because of the addition that the speaker made to the collection of observations on what philosophy is, if anything. Those observations alone justified all the work of the philosophers from the Greeks to date. I was very much interested in his observations as to whether people still question whether there is anything in philosophy. I supposed that had been settled -- in the negative -- ever since that story appeared that "philosophy is in the position of a blind man in a dark room chasing a black cat which isn't there." Nevertheless, when one hears philosophy utilized in connection with such practical and significant questions as that to which it has been applied this morning, one must admit that, whether he calls it philosophy, economics or a political science, it has value that is very much worth considering.

My general subject, has the same enchanting characteristic of broadness and vagueness as the subject on which I spoke yesterday. It is one however that lends itself to a rather specific raising of some very important questions. I don't know of any way to talk intelligently on the Government in relation to social and economic affairs without saying a word or two concerning what I mean when I talk about those two ideas -- government on the one hand and economic and social affairs on the other. I don't mean, as the preceding speaker said, to beg the question, but it is difficult for me to distinguish between social and economic affairs. Let me just talk about economic affairs as though the two things were identical.

I think the thing to discuss first is economic affairs. Economics, like philosophy and political science, has tended to build up a vocabulary that is confusing to a good many people, but it really is concerned with a few very simple ideas. What we are concerned with in this world is the means or way in which we as a group of people -- either because we have certain social characteristics and tend to work together, or because we have found out that it pays better to work together as groups -- can get out of the resources that are available -- our lands, our forests, our mines, ourselves, our equipment -- a maximum of the goods and services that we want. That is really the program as I see it, in which economic activities are concerned. How can we operate to get a maximum of the things we want. That isn't very difficult and, of course, I must say in passing that the determination of what it is that we want is one of the very interesting problems in this connection; that it is one on which economists and philosophers talk at great length and in somewhat the same language. The economist likes to dismiss the issue of how we determine what we want, by saying, "I'll leave that to the philosopher." The philosopher tends to dodge the question of what we want by saying "I shall leave that to the psychologist."

When I was teaching at the University of Chicago, one of my colleagues was pointing out to an elementary class the fact that what we want depends on our

values, and our values, in turn, are created by the circumstances under which we live. For example, you'll see that to a man living in a primitive society it would not occur to want a radio or a novel. He went on to try to show that even such a thing as money, would, under other circumstances, mean very little. He used this illustration: "Now, suppose that you were in a ship wreck and you had your choice in swimming to shore, of taking either a ham or a bag of diamonds, which would you take if you could take only one?" There happened to be in the class a football hero, a good deal smarter than some of you may think this indicates. His nationality and racial traits are implied by his name, which was Kahn. The professor turned to Kahn and said, "If you had the choice of taking a ham or a bag of diamonds, which would you take?" "I'd take the diamonds," replied Kahn. Of course, that answer was meat for the professor. "What good would diamonds be to you on a deserted island?" he asked. "Yes," Kahn replied, "but what would I do with a ham?"

Economists love to delve into such speculations as that, as a means of showing that environment contributes to the determination of our values and thus to our wants. But he is directly concerned with means of organizing to gratify wants, whatever they may be. That is all we need to think about for the moment.

Let's consider Government. I think it is unfortunate that we have fallen into the habit of thinking of government as something remote, nothing but an abstraction. There is only one way to think about government in a democracy, and that is as a device which we ourselves create for the purpose of trying to do something. Since the only thing there is to do is to work at this job of trying to get the things we want, governments are devices which we construct to help us accomplish that work.

In a democracy you have a task in governing with which no other kind of government ever has to be concerned. While it is easy to say that in a democracy we seek the will of the many, the most serious difficulty is to find out what the will of the many is. We rely on the community will. What is the community will? When do you have it expressed? Even if you are willing to assume that the community will is what you want, the problem we have in a democracy, as related to economic affairs, is to find out what the will of the community is, and then to get that will carried into action. I think it easier to talk about that than to be sure that you get what you think you are talking about. For example, in a democracy, it was suggested, and quite accurately, that we elect and reelect people, and elect others if we don't like those we have, if they are not doing what we think expresses the popular will. But when we elect people there may be the greatest disparity between what those people think they were elected to do and what we think we elected them to do. Even in democratic countries we have heard such expressions as "mandates have been given," and that has not been limited to the present administration. Some of these mandates may never have been issued that had been talked about in the campaign. They may never have been expressed in a party platform. It is very easy for an office holder to assume that he has been given authority by virtue of being elected. The mere election of a candidate may be a long ways from having him do what many of us who voted for him expect him to do.

The previous speaker suggested that under the democratic principle, and he is absolutely right, the thing we ought to do is to carry on educational influence; campaign in any way that is moral. The issue arises as to what is moral. I'll ask you, as representatives of farm organizations, whether there can be anything moral or immoral about the timing of the delivery of checks to farmers. Could there be anything moral or immoral about the grant of money for a bridge or

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dam to any particular community? And don't think that this question began with the New Deal. Whether there is anything moral or immoral about wages that might be paid to people who have been put on relief; whether you think any politician might be astute enough to work out something in reference to relief to keep certain people in office. This moral thing isn't so clear, but it is awfully easy for us, in thinking of democracy, to make ourselves think it is. It is easy to be confused about what are the kinds of activities that do or do not savor of a dictator; do or do not lie within the realm of proper action in a democracy.

Now, if you will let me bring these scattered statements together. We, the people of this country, are concerned in trying to get out of the resources that are available, a maximum of those things which we think we want. Government is a device which we create, to help us in that process. There are two ways in which we use our governments. We can use governmental agencies directly to produce things. For example, we have used them to produce public education; to produce protection -- in times of war we used them for protection on a large scale.

A second thing we can and do use governments for, -- more important thing because it has been more extensive -- is to establish and set the limits of the private enterprise system.

In English and American experience of the soil for 150 years it has been shown that one of the best ways to get more and better goods produced, and to get better decisions on what it was wise to produce, is to leave a large part of these problems to the decisions of the individuals. To do that it is necessary to give some kind of legal statement as to what kind of actions we will permit them to take. As part of this private system there grew up a certain system of private property ownership, which means laws that determine what one owns and what the limits and possibilities of ownership are. There was developed a system of free contracts. Free contracts came to have a very definite meaning in law, without which all these operations we think of as private enterprise would be meaningless.

I said yesterday, in speaking of the general question which was assigned to me that the agricultural problem could be said to be the getting of too many resources as we now see it, into one particular kind of activity. Too much in agriculture. That problem may be generalized in this way. What we need to do to get most of the things we want is to get all of our resources allocated so that we come as nearly as possible to a balance. All balance means is that we don't have so many in one thing, getting more of that than we want, as compared to our wants for something else. As suggested yesterday by Doctor Taylor, what we have done under this private enterprise system, is to permit people with their own incomes to go into market and buy what they want. Those who produce try to meet the demands thus expressed. Thus we get a balance through the efforts of individuals who make decisions, trying to meet the individual desires of the people who buy. Let me use an illustration. If a certain number of automobiles are produced in the United States, it is done under this system of private decisions because the automobile manufacturers make the decision to produce so many million automobiles because they believe they can sell that number. It is because the manufacturers believe that people are ready to spend their money for that number.

On the other hand if we make a governmental decision to build, for example a Passamaquoddy dam, how is that decision made? It isn't made on the basis of people who are spending their own money, saying that we want that dam; it is made by governmental agents for reasons which they think desirable. When you hear economists discussing the question of whether more or less governmental decision is a good thing, the thing that will nearly always come back to you is this ques-

tion, "Can governmental agencies make decisions as to what we shall do with our resources as well as private persons can make them?" Can they create a balance that on the whole will be as satisfactory as the balance which will be worked out if you let people try to produce those things which people pay for with their incomes. And if there are some areas in which government will do it better than it can be done through private decision, what are those areas? These are the questions to which we cannot give too much thought in connection with government's relationship to economic affairs at the present stage of American democracy. Because the tendency in the past considerable number of years, and we had it before the New Deal, has been to increase the amount of responsibility for decisions of this sort which we leave to governmental agencies and notice, when we leave it to a governmental agency we are not leaving it to Divine decision, but to human beings much like the rest of us. After all, a senator is only a man, and being elected to office has not endowed him with any Providential wisdom. The thing that is important to consider is the kind of influences that will come to bear on him and whether these influences will cause him to make a better decision as to what we are doing with these resources than would be made the other way.

I have just one other thought. There are a good many things we have given over to government agencies. Fifty years ago, or thereabouts, we began another type of thing. We didn't like what the railroads were doing under the private enterprise. We set up a government agency, and private agents worked in connection with the Interstate Commerce Commission. I want you to notice that it was done for a reason of which most thinking people approved. They said the roads, for technical reasons, are a kind of business that you cannot control competitively. You can't keep price on any kind of basis satisfactory on all railroad service by competition. A commission was set up to try to find a way of determining what was right in rates, and the like.

We did the same thing in every state with public utilities. We have increased the number of cases in which we have done this. I won't mention agriculture, because that is too delicate a subject, although it is one of the best illustrations. We no longer leave agriculture to the domain of private individuals' decision regarding prices, products and important things that take place under private decision. We have introduced elements of governmental control that have set it off in a class somewhat like railroads and public utilities. The reasons that lie behind this move, however, are not at all the same kind that we had in the case of the public utilities or railroads. In those cases, every thoughtful person would say that private decisions can't ever give us a sound adjustment of railroad resources.

This leads me to the final thing I would like to say. Doctor Taylor talked about "groupism." In the past few years we have been tending increasingly to mark out areas or groups for special treatment, and this raises important questions for a democracy. This problem is how to get governmental agencies to look at economic problems in a statesmanlike way, by which I mean a national way, when the people who make the decisions have to be elected by votes and when votes can be had more easily by advantageous treatment of limited groups.

Only one thing more. I promised Doctor Taylor that I would point out the one thing on which I had a disagreement and that is the question of the umpire. An umpire isn't the answer. Having an umpire assumes that you have contending groups that have equal rights under the situation. A government that merely brings around the table representatives of all parties and wears them down until you get a compromise makes poor laws. You can't get good laws that way. That is

entirely out of line with the kind of an idea we must have if we are looking after what is good for the nation as a whole. Instead of thinking in terms of this labor group, or that farm group, or any other particular group or groups, we must try to think about what kind of regulations will result in the most satisfactory national use of our national resources and then devise the means for bringing that about. That is the center of the problem of government in relation to economic life in this country. Competitive groups fight for special privileges. You can get a national policy that way, but it is a national policy of compromise out of which we cannot get the most for all, and in which perhaps nobody gets what he wants. The kind of America we have known was not the America where it was essentially thought of in those terms, and it will not be that kind if we think only in terms of group interests.

FUTURE PRODUCTION PROGRAMS AND PRICE POLICIES FOR AGRICULTURE

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The introduction Miss Bane has given me, and the very thorough background of fundamentals that has been laid down by the speakers here this morning, and yesterday by Dr. Lyon, make my task both somewhat easier and much harder. I am thinking particularly of that very delicate touch of Dr. Lyon in coming to Agriculture for an illustration of quasi-government and quasi-private enterprise and yet not touching upon the many new "experiments" we now are engaged on. By way of introduction, let me say that I have seen two of these schools, one following the other, at my campus, and their contribution to members of the professional staff was tremendous in bringing to us broad issues in the political, social and economic sphere. That same thing is happening here in the contributions already made. I doubt if it is necessary for me to present to you my agricultural credentials--perhaps I have too many of them. I noticed yesterday that Dr. Lyon suggested that he had some and that it was nothing more than a wooden corn-picking hook, which you had reason to know about. I, because of the fact that I have joined hands with the Farm Credit Administration, have joint ownership with them of a farm, and, because of that fact, I know that there is money in agriculture--because I put some in every month.

Coming to the University of Illinois and speaking on agricultural policy is a bit like carrying "coals to New Castle." Members of your own staff could do this assignment, I am sure, better than I.

Economics is simply the processes of allocating our resources, whether through private decisions or through group decisions, to get the most out of those resources. We have to take cognizance of both national and international factors, and in agriculture particularly do we have to consider the international. Agriculture today is over-extended. We are allocating too many of our resources, which means too much of our capital, too much of our land, too much of our human resources, to the producing of agricultural commodities.

I accept the proposition that the agricultural plant of the United States is too large. Not every part of it, but certain major parts of it, are too large. Probably we have too much capital, too much land, too many human resources engaged in agricultural production. The job of gearing agriculture down, of shifting and shrinking it is a very difficult one. I assure you that making downward readjustment is going to be more painful when the economy is not expanding fast enough to rapidly absorb the slack.

Agricultural price and income fluctuations are too great to permit the most efficient production. If we knew all of the consequences, the instability of prices is probably as important as the misallocation of resources. Price fluctuations bring with them much risk and uncertainty, particularly to the entrepreneur. We may consider these fluctuations as rising out of the resources themselves, which means land, climate, and weather. Then there are the fluctuations that come to agriculture out of the community and come to the farm from the business community.

I.

Soil Conservation: Our agriculture is too large and we are using resources, public and private, to make it larger. Bluntly, what we are doing, in spite of all that has been said about soil conservation is to make the farm plant larger than it otherwise would be.

When the farmer came to this section land was cheap and plentiful; they were short on capital and on labor. The obvious thing to do was to economize on that which was most scarce and use as much as possible of what was less scarce, i.e., land. The farmer did exactly that. As a result we transferred soil productivity, soil resources, into other forms of capital. He said to himself, it is better that I grow more corn so that I can sell that corn and buy some lumber to build a barn or buy some equipment that I need, than maintain the present level of soil productivity. We used our resources to build roads, schools and homes. We invested it in education. Our free institutions are a part of the abundance of our resources.

Moreover, the individual farmer is constantly doing this. He asks himself, should I build up my soil, just maintain it, or deplete it? On what basis does he make the decision? He makes it entirely on its marginal productivity, as he sees his alternatives. If he feels he can get more out of transferring a part of his soil capital (soil resources) into other forms of capital, he will proceed to do so. At what stage are we in agriculture in conserving our soil resources?

It undoubtedly was wise to take off the cream of our soil fertility and to have put it into capital--roads, schools, homes and equipment. Last summer I asked many farmers in the Plains States if they thought it wise for them to transfer some of their land fertility into buildings and equipment. They all answered that they would prefer to have it in a form other than in land resources.

When we face the question of the agricultural plant being too large, we should consider whether we should transfer a part of our soil resources into other forms of capital, or whether we want to place back into agriculture still more resources. In the broad, the agriculture in the Corn Belt, even with our plant too large in general, has reached the place where farmers themselves find it wise to move toward a soil maintenance basis, and even a building-up basis. A very careful study of 5,000 farms in Iowa showed that, in light of the general economic situation, prices and costs about as they are, the farmers who grew more grass and less corn, produced more products than those on the other side who had high corn and low grass. To the query whether or not we should deplete further, maintain or build up, one can say for the Corn Belt that it is likely to be at least a maintenance proposition. But within the Corn Belt, for instance, in Iowa, in the so-called Wisconsin drift area, it will be a depleting proposition. In the southern Iowa it may be partly a building-up program.

For a great part of the agriculture in the upper Atlantic Coast States we probably may expect a maintenance or building up. For the western Plain States, it is likely to be a matter of depletion. For them it is the same type of economics that you have in mining. They do not have available crop rotations that will maintain their land resources with an output anywhere near the present. If they are going to maintain the present agricultural production it very definitely means depletion. Accordingly, in the case of the Plain States, farming there must be looked upon as the type of economy you would have when you mine coal. They are, in a large part, taking out natural resources, which are very abundant, and transfer-

ring them into products and making it available to the total economy that way. Is it bad? It may be the best use of national resources from a national point of view.

The southern problem is much more difficult to analyze. The whole southern agricultural economy has been built on a depletion process, and we can't say the same thing for cotton that I have for wheat, chiefly because of the predominance of other factors like the maladjustment of the human factor.

I should not for the moment maintain that we don't have very serious misuses by the private enterprise. Land is misused. It is often farmed not to the best interests of economy as a whole. The reasons are several. There is ignorance. Farmers often do not know the technical consequences of their acts. We have terrific violence in our climate. When you have to deal with four inches of rainfall in one hour, what is your technical answer as to what happens? Do we know? How can we save the valuable tons of top soil? No answer? I think it will be another 50 years before we know what we are dealing with in the way of climate.

The World War with its high prices was just as bad for bluegrass in Iowa as the low prices, the foreclosure period following 1930. What is very serious, is that the sharp fluctuations that we have in income in agriculture create severe maladjustment in the use of our agricultural resources. We tend to overuse our resources when prices are high and also when prices are low. To recapitulate, we must be conscious of the fact that our agriculture is too large and that to heap and praise soil conservation as an end in itself may be damning agriculture by keeping it too large and making it larger. It must be handled region by region and within regions. In the broad, I think we are in real danger in believing that, by placing much stress upon soil conservation as such, we are getting our national household into better order and a better use of our resources..... But this result does not necessarily follow.

II.

In a recent article Professor J. M. Keynes proposes that England might well experiment with a "a super-normal granary." He holds that it would have a stabilizing effect on the fluctuating prices of raw materials. For example, corn more than a \$1.00 a bushel less than two years ago; now you can buy it for 30¢. It is such terrific ranges of prices of raw materials that are so costly. Surely we ought to be aware of the problem.

I want to discuss only one aspect of the fluctuation in raw material prices, that involved under our ever-normal granary. I shall restrict my observations to corn. You may look upon the corn problem as rising out of three resources. (1) There are the fluctuations that come to the livestock out of BIG and SMALL corn crops. (2) There are the fluctuations that come from the UPS and DOWNS of business, or (3) those that arise out of the IN and OUT of hogs and so on.

The AAA Act of 1938 while intended to correct for big and small crops yet it is so formulated as to become mixed up with the other two aspects also. It should be possible to devise a program which would cancel out the big and small crops given to us by Nature fairly well and give you a livestock industry which would be much more stable than we have had.

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My story has been in two parts.

1. Let's remember that the big job is to allocate our resources so that we can get the most out of them. At the present time we have too many resources in agriculture. Can we find ways and means of transferring them out? Soil conservation, as a slogan, almost a religion, seems to be taking us into dangerous zone unless we better understand its economic implications.

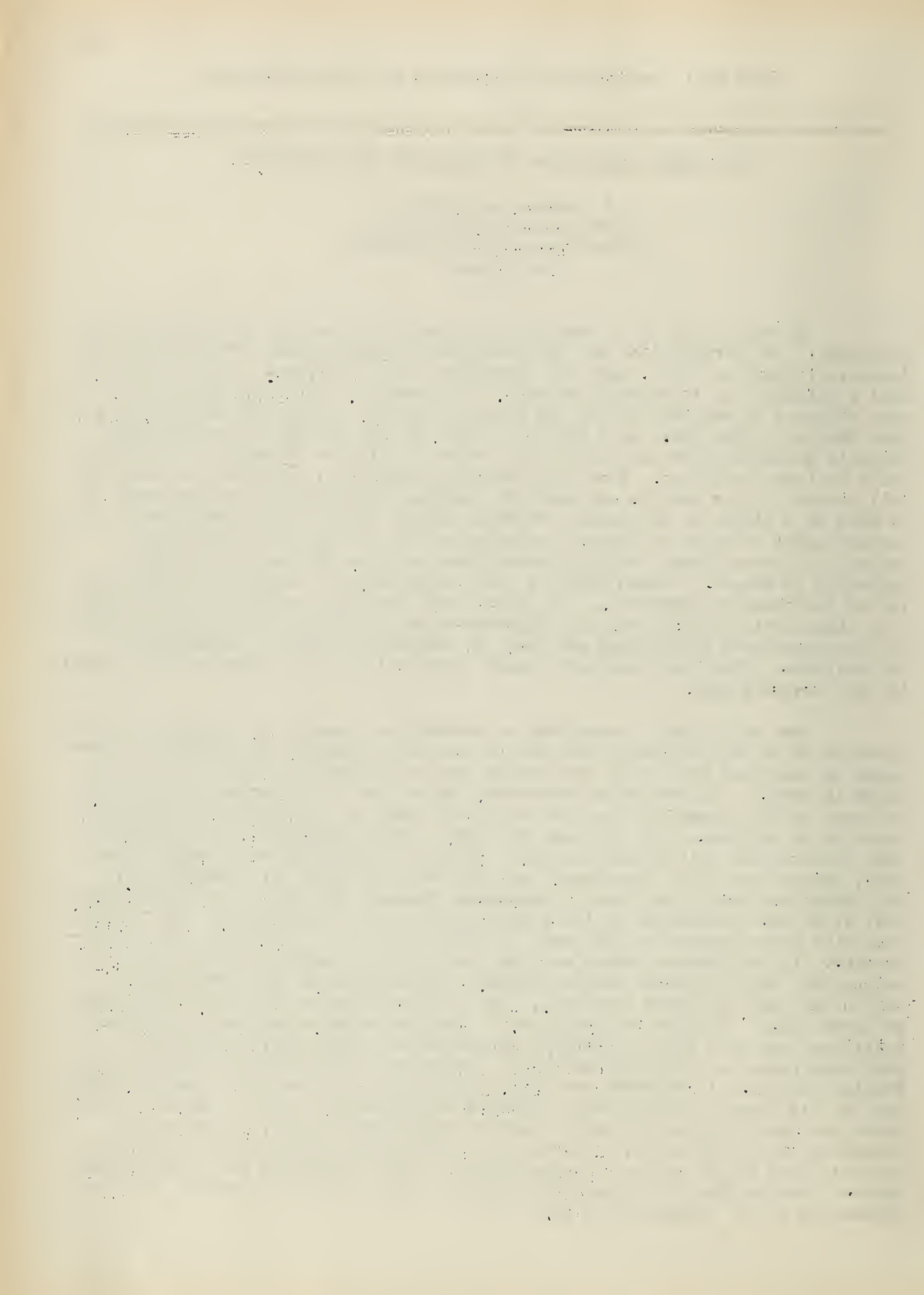
2. I have emphasized the importance of reducing fluctuations in income, prices and changes in production, particularly to commercial agriculture such as you have here in the heart of the Corn Belt. How can we best attain this end? We can make our agriculture more flexible. We can go a certain distance in trying to make agriculture itself a bit more stable by evening out big and small crops, a phase which the AAA might well tackle. But the AAA in its corn programs probably cannot successfully offset and correct for the loss of farm prices and farm income arising out of the periodic sharp downward swings of business activity. To the extent that the present seal price for corn is doing the latter, it is likely to get into difficulty.

 THE MORAL OBLIGATIONS OF EDUCATION IN A DEMOCRACY

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My subject for this morning is the moral obligations of education in a democracy. The perpetuation and the successful working of any form of government depends, in part at least, upon the education of its citizens. This is so general a principle as to be platitudinous. For example, a dictator has the citizens educated to consider him as the final authority, and he has them educated so that they will obey him. As a matter of fact, in one or more of the dictatorships in Europe we have political faith underlaid with an education which almost turns it into a religion. From the practical standpoint, the dictator seeks to sell himself to his people, and when you analyze his technique, you see that it is done by a slogan or by popular emotional appeal or by taking advantages of the circumstances in which he lives. Nevertheless, the technique is educational. He must also keep himself sold by educational methods. We see these things happening in Russia. There, from the very beginning, the children are educated in the doctrines of communism. The educational technique reduces itself to two very simple principles: one, the suppression or the elimination of the opponents of the communistic philosophy, and two, the control by means of education of the children. The first manifests itself practically in the purge and the second in the Soviet Primer.

Now this type of education is intended to preserve the supremacy of the dictator or of the autocracy, and what is even more serious, to prevent the emergence of political and social ideas which may be contrary to those held by the party in power. The controlled education, as we find it in Germany and Russia, is based on the assumption that the political ideas of the rulers are absolutely true, or at any rate, that they are the best, though sometimes it is announced that they are the only rational ideas. Hitler and Mussolini both deride democracy, saying that it is irrational, sentimental, and above all, inefficient. The communists deride our form of democracy, because they say it is capitalistic, that is to say, controlled by the capitalists for their own profit. All forbid education which arouses doubts about the existing form of government and its perfection. In the Fascist States we find also that the leaders believe that education must serve a narrow racial purpose, that somehow or other education is very definitely connected with race. Note Hitler's famous statement, "Ich Denke Mit Mein Blut," "I think with my blood." Even in science, we find the Fascists insisting that this must be entirely controlled by racial purpose and that it must have racial and specific political significance from the standpoint of the Fascist ideology. I remember very well, and this is interesting to remember now, that at the Seventh International Congress of Philosophy, held in Oxford in 1930, there was great indignation on the part of the German delegates because the delegates from Italy and from Russia had turned their philosophical activities entirely into the direction of propaganda for their respective political philosophies. Now we find the German philosophers going far beyond anything that the Communists or the Fascists ever did.



In these countries, education is not a search for truth, it is not even used as a means in the search for truth, but it is propaganda for a particular doctrine or dogma. It is therefore questionable if education in such countries deserves the name of education. It is propagandizing or sophistry. In this connection it is well to remember the Sophists. You will recall that they were a group of teachers of philosophy--they might just as well be called teachers of education--in the fifth century, known as the Sophists. They believed, first, that there are no true ideas, that there are only opinions, and that every man must necessarily be the measure of his own opinions. Therefore, there is no such thing as education in truth. There are only the arts of persuasion, and they convinced themselves and a good many of their contemporaries that the function of education is the teaching of the arts of persuasion. The Sophists were therefore the real founders of propaganda and of election speeches. Now many professional politicians are Sophists. They use the educational processes available to them to perpetuate themselves in office, that is to say, to get you to accept their opinions rather than to establish the truth of any particular doctrines. It is obvious from the degeneration of education in the hands of the Sophists that education should by all means be kept free from political control because otherwise the politicians can organize education so that it becomes, as I believe it is in Germany and in Russia, one great deception.

Now, of course, democracy is not in agreement with the Sophists. Nevertheless, it does not subscribe to absolutism, that is to say, to the belief that there are some absolute principles which are true for all time without modification. It believes, on the one hand, that wisdom does not die with any political party or with any Congress or with any President, or with any age, but it also believes that social problems can at any time be solved, at least for that period, and at least in part. It also believes that solutions go out of date because social conditions change. Thus minds must be trained to search for, and be receptive to, new solutions, when changing conditions make this necessary.

Thus the first principle in education in a democracy is that intelligence must be free. There must be freedom of inquiry, of speech, and of teaching. Only then can democracy be self-corrective. And if we destroy the self-corrective potentialities of democracy, we destroy its very essence. Practically, this means also that the minority must be protected, not merely from physical oppression, but from intellectual oppression. As an aside, we may ask the question, "How far should this freedom go?" This raises the same question that I discussed from another point of view yesterday. "Is democracy committed to any unchanging set of principles?" To this we have given the answer, "No." Should freedom of speech then be permitted on any subject? Should people be permitted freely to advocate, let us say, the abolition of freedom of speech? This is a right, incidentally, which the Communists and the Fascists claim under our Constitution, and there is no denying that, as a legal right under our form of Government, they are entitled to freedom of speech in this respect, since the right of freedom of speech rests on the guarantees of freedom of speech contained in the Constitution. However, we must distinguish between a legal right and a moral right. We cannot very well oppose this as a legal right, but I think we have the right to oppose it as a moral right. We can oppose it as a moral right because granting this legal right would deny others the same opportunity. That is to say, if we allow freedom of speech to such an extent as to permit the advocacy of the abolition of freedom of speech, our very concept destroys itself, and that is the best test of the illogic and irrationality of that application of it. Let us now continue with the inquiry as to what is the special nature of education in a democracy.

The first principle I have already referred to, freedom of thought and of speech and of teaching. The second principle is the principle that we must offer expert instruction in the processes of government and in the duties of the citizens. This expert instruction might be summarized as follows: (1) There must be instruction in the history and the origin of our government so that we may make plain to the citizens what was the occasion for its development. (2) There must also be education in the intentions of the founders of our government and those intentions must be contrasted with existing social conditions. (3) There must be technical instruction, as we might call it, in the processes of government, viewed also from the standpoint of changing social conditions. (4) I think there should be added to this also instruction in the technique of politicians, instruction in propaganda. I think we should develop by means of our education what might be called political sales resistance. (5) There must be education in the function and the legitimate activities of pressure groups, both from the standpoint of the members of such groups and from the standpoint of the larger good. This reduces itself, I think, to education in enlightened self-interest. (6) Finally, all this education must proceed in a sort of atmosphere of understanding of social and economic problems that make any form of government necessary.

I have passed over these first two principles, the principle of freedom of thought and the principle of technical instruction in the processes of government rather lightly. I am doing this because, in the first place, they are well understood and we are all perfectly conscious of these needs. Secondly, they are not, in my opinion, the most fundamental issues involved in education in a democracy. The most fundamental issue, because it is presupposed by the other two, is the third principle, to which I wish to give special emphasis this morning, the principle of moral education, or, as we might put it, the development of the moral personality of the citizen in a democracy. He must not only be a free citizen and an intelligent citizen, but he must also be a good citizen. Democracy, as I tried to point out yesterday, implies freedom and restraint; and that restraint must not come entirely from external sources. It should come as much as possible from internal sources. Therefore there must be education in both freedom and restraint. The appreciation and the practice of both imply moral character, but restraint especially requires moral education. Moral education has been altogether too little emphasized. As a matter of fact, I believe it has to some extent been forgotten. We have emphasis upon learning the Constitution, upon education in the processes of democracy, even in the ideals of democracy, but we have little emphasis upon moral education. I think the reason for this is that there has been misplaced emphasis in our education and also that we have been laboring under a misconception as to the exact significance of moral education. First of all, we have in our history been confused by a misplaced emphasis with respect to the term "moral." There is current in the minds of all Americans and all of our popular writings a limited and narrow conception of the term "moral." The traditional implication of the term "moral," or "immoral," in our history is that it has reference only to sex morality. This is strictly the Puritan tradition. It is interesting to ask why, or how this over-emphasis has come about. Is it that the Puritans committed no other sins? That is rather unlikely. It is, of course, true that this was considered in the Christian tradition the most materialistic of sins and, therefore, the most capital, if I may put it that way. And also, and this is I think very significant, sins against sex morality are the most scandalous and therefore the most interesting, wherefore, a great deal of attention is paid to this type of sin. This limited meaning of the term "moral" is extremely unfortunate because we have forgotten other sins far worse from the social standpoint. Slandorous gossip and malice do infinitely

more damage in the social community usually than any sex irregularity. These are much more dangerous to society and to human happiness. From the standpoint of political organization, graft, dishonesty and bribery are far worse. Of course, I am not advocating laxness in sex morality. I am merely regretting the failure to emphasize other forms of immorality. Our interest, therefore, in speaking about moral education is in the broader problems of morals, in the basic virtues, honesty, integrity, sympathy, etc., in what are commonly called the "homely virtues." It is my point that education in these virtues is in our educational organization and in the social fabric seriously and dangerously inadequate.

A second reason why we have not paid sufficient attention to moral education in the sense in which I am defining it is that education of the past and of the present has assumed that the acquisition of knowledge is the essence of education. With your permission, I would like to briefly survey the history of education and note that this has been the emphasis with increasing intensity in all the ages. Let us take primitive education. Primitive education consisted largely of instruction in rituals, moral conventions, and sacrifices. The purpose was flattery and appeasement and even bribery of the gods. There were no moral reasons why the gods should do what they did. Their actions were arbitrary and sometimes from our point of view even irrational. This is what has been very correctly called "slot-machine morality." The idea was to put something in and hope that something good might come out of it, though one was never sure because of the arbitrary character of the gods.

In early Christian education we find the leading principle the doctrine that the individual must do the will of God, not from the standpoint of the experience of mankind and its problems but from the standpoint of God. It seems to me that in early Christian morality God's will still often seemed to be arbitrary, and, what is far more serious, the emphasis of this early Christian morality was other-worldly. Man's life on this earth was incidental and it really didn't make much difference what happened to him here. Social virtues were a matter of duty and prescription. They were not dictated by moral experience, but they were dictated by God's will.

In classical morality we find the distinction between knowledge and wisdom which is the first suggestion of the point which I am trying to make. Knowledge was information, but wisdom was information plus the knowledge of how to use this information. The great misfortune was, of course, that classical social organization was strictly aristocratic. We find even Aristotle, a man of great human sympathy, insisting that some men are born to be slaves. In medieval morality, we find gradually more and more emphasis in educated circles on knowledge. The particular type of knowledge which was emphasized was theological knowledge. Literally translated the word means "knowledge of God." There came about, however, an appreciation that there was something wrong, that knowledge of God was not sufficient, and we find a struggle, running through the Middle Ages from St. Augustine on between those who believed that knowledge was the starting point of salvation and those who believed that faith or a moral attitude was the beginning of salvation. We find St. Augustine emphasizing the fact that no one can be saved by knowledge alone, but that his will must be inclined to believe. Now this may be bad terminology, but it was good psychology, because it was perfectly true that the acquisition of knowledge in the realm of theology did not necessarily make a good Christian out of a person.

In the modern period we find the reaction continuing, though we find gradually a different emphasis, or rather, a return to the old emphasis. The

early moderns said that knowledge came from experience and that that was the only place it came from. You will remember that Bacon said "Knowledge is power." He contended that knowledge won't move mountains (as faith was supposed to do) but it will tell you what to do with mountains or about them. The result of this emphasis upon knowledge as power was the tremendous development of natural science. It was believed that knowledge of the processes of nature would make possible successful lives, would produce the good life and would bring happiness, and thus solve our moral problems. Thus science, in the early modern period, was conceived to be the new way to salvation.

For two and a half centuries society staked its hopes for salvation in this world on the natural sciences. There was a period when mathematics was considered to be the most important science of all because of the absolute certainty with which one can reason mathematically. It was, therefore, conceived to be the key to all knowledge. Later physics was supposed to be the key to happiness, and then biology, and then psychology, but each one of these periods was succeeded by disillusionment. Each was given up in turn. We are today living in an era in which the emphasis is upon a new type of natural science, namely, the social sciences, the study of man as a social animal. Unfortunately, and I am not attempting to discredit the social scientist, the emphasis is still upon knowledge. Knowledge is still supposed to solve our moral problems.

Now to this I confess deep skepticism. I do not underestimate intelligence. It is, of course, tremendously important in democracy, but I believe that we are failing sufficiently to distinguish between knowledge and its use. Knowledge in itself is non-moral, because nature is non-moral: a tree, electricity, even an infant is non-moral. It is just as much non-moral as it is ignorant, possibly more so. Of course, the popular answer to this objection is that we must make knowledge practical. We must teach the practical as well as the theoretical sciences. We have, of course, this emphasis in modern education upon the practical sciences and upon professional knowledge.

But the problem is not so simple. Theoretical sciences, to be sure, tell us what the world is like. They give us knowledge about the nature of the world and the practical sciences tell us how this knowledge can be used. But the really important question remains unanswered, namely, how ought this knowledge to be used? This is a moral question. Knowledge can be used for good or evil. The more practical our teaching is, the more dangerous it potentially becomes. Whenever we increase knowledge, in the realm of both the theoretical and practical sciences but particularly in the realm of the practical sciences, we increase potentialities for evil as well as for good.

Let me give you an illustration or two. The most innocent-seeming science, and probably the most neutral, from a moral standpoint, is physics. But let us see what can be done with physics. Let us take the subdivision of physics, optics. In the war the science of optics was used for camouflage and its knowledge was used for the destruction instead of the preservation of life. The illustration from chemistry is obvious and must have already occurred to you. Poison gases are the product of our chemical knowledge. Medicine, which we consider the most humane of the sciences, has nevertheless great potentialities for evil. Although I discount some of the legendary stories, some of the myths which are associated with this reference which I am about to make, I must nevertheless agree that the germ theory of disease has tremendous evil potentialities which are rather horrible to contemplate. Let us take the science of psychology, on which, toward the end of the last century, we staked our hope of salvation. It

brings us knowledge of how to stimulate, how to arouse interest, how to direct interest and so on, that is to say, how to affect human behavior. Well, the principles of psychology are used by demagogues; the cleverer they are the more clever use do they make of them. They are used by fanatics to arouse class or race hatred; the principles of psychology underlie the practice of propaganda and so on. The psychology of advertising is a study to which we attach great importance, but it is to be remembered that by means of the psychology of advertising or the knowledge of the psychology of advertising we may propagate wrong ideas, we may induce wrong actions, and we may mislead our fellow men.

Let us take an illustration from the realm of commercial subjects, accounting. The purpose of the science of accounting is to keep accurate accounts. But the knowledge which is gained through the science of accounting is almost as useful to the embezzler as it is to the honest accountant. The embezzler, it has been said, is a thief who has had a course in accounting. The theft, in the case of simple theft, is discovered at once, but in the case of embezzlement it sometimes takes accountants a year or two to discover it. Why? Because of the expert knowledge which the embezzler has of the science of accounting. Even in the realm of the social sciences, we find potentialities for evil. History is full of "bad examples." For instance, it teaches imperialistic technique, it teaches knowledge of how successful some of the greatest scoundrels in history have been, it teaches us about diplomacy, which has been defined as the art of polite deception.

I think it is clear from these illustrations that faith in knowledge as knowledge for moral salvation is illusory and not well founded. To teach the use of knowledge in the service of good, moral education is required. We are then interested not in the education in the sense of knowledge, but education in the sense of the development of character.

Now let me hasten to say that I do not believe that a course in Ethics in the Department of Philosophy of a University is the answer to this. In the first place, Ethics is a very abstract subject and deals with concepts rather than with particular problems, and in the second place, the acquisition of all the knowledge that there may be in the realm of the science of Ethics is only more knowledge and does not necessarily bring with it the proper use of it. Education for moral character is probably the most difficult function of education, and I do not believe that there has been in this realm much advance in history, certainly not the advance that there has been in technical education and in practical education.

Now I am sure you will expect me to ask and answer the question, what does moral education imply in the way of training? There are two great principles which have been generally recognized, which I am going to refer to without entering into abstruse psychological discussion. First of all, it is obvious that there must be education of the will. I hope you will accept my terms at their face value because we haven't time to discuss their various meanings. What I mean by education of the will is arousing the desire to do the good. That is to say, the good must be made desirable. It must be made attractive. The good life must be made by education to appear to be the desirable life. The good man, rather than the rich man, or the strong man, or the powerful man, must become the hero in our education. Of course, this involves education of the emotions. It involves, as you know, rewards and punishments as useful aids.

The second principle, which was first advanced by Aristotle, and on whose analysis there has, I think, been no improvement, is that moral education also implies education in habit, in moral habits. We must become accustomed to doing the good. Habit means not only moral excellence but it also implies moral efficiency. It not only implies that we make the right choice but that we make the right choice almost automatically, that is to say that we have developed the moral habit of making the right choice.

Another question which we have to answer, of course, is the question, what system of morals are we to follow in our training of the moral personality. Well, I have not in mind any abstract, ethical system, but only what is fundamental and basic in all ethical systems. I am thinking of the homely virtues, honesty, integrity, and responsibility. These are necessary for the maintenance of any type of human relationship. They are basic to any type of social system, and they are particularly necessary for the maintenance of our political system, namely, democracy.

In democracy there is a greater range for moral responsibility because all citizens vote. In autocracy there is a greater emphasis upon obedience. In the case of democracy we must add to these three homely virtues, honesty, integrity, and responsibility, the virtues of sympathy and tolerance. All these virtues, I think, are included in Kant's famous dictum, to which I referred yesterday, that each one of us must look upon every other man not merely as a means but as an end in himself. We must recognize the moral dignity of every one of our fellow citizens; and this means that no man must be looked upon merely as a means to another man. It also means that no man must be looked upon as merely a means to any state, or any political party, or any form of government. Of course, this really amounts to the Golden Rule, as you will have noticed. It is equivalent to saying, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." It also must be perfectly apparent to you that this principle is absolutely contradictory to the principles of Fascism and Communism.

Now there is one more virtue which I would like to add, to the list, a virtue which has probably been more emphasized and honored in Anglo-Saxon history and in this country than anywhere else and that is sportsmanship. In a democracy, somebody always loses. The loser may later become the winner, but there is always a loser, the minority party; and therefore, for the sake of the maintenance of proper political relationships the minority must be a good loser. It must give the winner his hour in the sun, which means that it must give the winner his chance to govern and to try his principles out. It must not sabotage the winner, because to sabotage him is to sabotage the whole system and to sabotage democratic processes. It must not try to handicap the majority, or to make it powerless. It must be remembered, and this is the application of the Golden Rule, that when the minority becomes the majority, then the minority will feel that the new minority must also apply this principle. If the minority makes it impossible for the majority to try out its principles, then it destroys the very purpose of democracy, which is to accumulate experience, social and political and economic experience, and thus to work in the direction of progress.

I have emphasized these virtues as being essential to the citizen, but they are just as essential to the individual as a member of the race, or as a member of humanity. They are just as necessary to him as an international personality as they are to him as a national personality. We see this when we survey the present international scene, particularly in Europe. We do not find in the activities of the European countries and of the leaders of these countries much indication that they are practicing the fundamental virtues of honesty, integrity,

and even less of the virtues of sympathy and tolerance, and not at all of the virtue of sportsmanship. The fearful thing about the international situation today, and especially the situation in Europe, is the absence of a moral sense. There does not seem to be any appreciation of the fact that the statesman has a responsibility to the good. He seems only to think that he has a responsibility to some racial genus, or to some barbaric god, recently revived, or to some national ambition. Let us look at Chamberlain's recent decision in this light. It was not based upon a concept of the good, internationally conceived, but it was a forced, opportunistic decision. I have every sympathy with Chamberlain and I do not condemn him. I do not join those who condemn him, because it seems to me his decision was inescapable. It was a decision that was unavoidable because it was not a question of choice between conflicting moral principles but strictly a question of what to do at once to escape the pressure of evil, of an evil principle, represented in a system of political ideas and in a man.

I have tried to convince you that training of moral personality is the most fundamental of all the principles in democracy. It is now necessary to ask and to answer the question, who is to be held responsible for this moral education? There are, generally speaking, four agencies of moral education, the family, the church, the school, and society at large. Now because of the notion that salvation lies in knowledge, there has been for a century or two altogether too much emphasis upon the school, and there has been a constantly growing tendency on the part of these other agencies and particularly on the part of the family, to shift the responsibility for moral education to the school. This, I think, is a danger symptom. In order to make my point let me ask, what ought to be the responsibility of each of these agencies of moral education?

To answer this question we must first consider the problem of the instruments of moral education. I think there are two, precept and example, and of these two, example is far the more influential. If we will recall that will and habit must be educated I think we will see that example is far more influential in moral education than precept. Let us now consider each one of these agencies from the standpoint of the respective potentialities of example and precept as forces in moral education. The educational, the moral educational, advantages of the family are unique. In the family there exist special emotional ties of affection such as parent worship, by means of which the will of the child and the emotions of the child can be easily directed and inclined. Never again are such relationships recovered. They do not exist in that sense in any other social relationship, except possibly in marriage, where the marriage is fortunate. The child is relatively impressionable and the child is easily trained. Habits in him are fairly easily developed. Now if this opportunity is missed in the family, the results may be tragic and the damage often cannot be corrected. In the family, precept is important, but example is by far more important, because the child worships his parents. The discovery by the child of inconsistency between what his parents teach, that is to say, precept, and what his parents do, that is, example, is fatal to the moral education of the child. Anyone who will look over his history and remember his childhood will recall serious moral shocks which were the result of the discovery of this discrepancy. The behavior of parents, therefore, is a terrifyingly important factor in moral education.

The second agency, the church, had tremendous influence in the past. However, its influence was largely due to precept, and, whether we like it or not, it is rapidly losing influence today even in this respect. In the church, too, it is difficult to connect precept with practice because of the separation of church life from the daily life, especially in the case of some religions.

In the school, which is the third moral agency, we have education mostly by precept, though, of course, some by example, but the influence of example and the effectiveness of potentialities of moral education of the child, I believe, decrease as we go upward in the school system. Personal contacts become less intimate, habits have been more and more definitely formed. This is proved by the conflict between the influence of the family and the school. The school very frequently is utterly incapable of overcoming the previous effect in the realm of moral education of the family. Today we are in our schools so occupied with the training of intelligence that we have almost a complete neglect of education and training of the emotions. And this, too, is a cause of the weakness of the school in the matter of moral influence.

Finally, we have society. Now in the realm of society educational influence from the standpoint of moral education is almost exclusively due to example and this is a disturbing idea. Example in society can easily neutralize precept in the school. The school is supposed to teach how success should be attained, but society demonstrates how success is attained, and it is easy to see which is the more influential. Often there is a tremendous conflict here, and an enduring conflict. We are told constantly, we University teachers, that we must educate our students in the social sciences, that we must educate them in the right ideals, political, social and economic. And we do this, in so far as we can. We do the best we can in the way of analyzing the best sort of state, the best type of social organization, etc. I suppose we can do something more there, but I'm convinced that we are doing a fairly good job of this. But we cannot convince the student that what we are teaching him, unless he is an exceptional person, morally speaking, is important as long as outside of him, in society, there is a concrete demonstration that we are teaching ideals which cannot be realized, or at any rate, which are not realized in society. This emphasizes the tremendous responsibility which rests upon men and women in public life. One successful but corrupt public character can mislead the youth of a nation. If immorality brings success, to teach that one must be moral is an uphill task. It follows that the two most important problems facing education today are the moral education of our children, on the one hand, and the improvement of public morality on the other, both national and international.

It is to be remembered that any form of social organization, and I am using the term "social" broadly to include economic and political, any form of social organization creates its own moral atmosphere, and that moral atmosphere is a source of great pressure in the realm of education. If we study the moral atmosphere of our democracies, we cannot help but be a bit disturbed. We see all about us increases in political corruption and graft; we see a development of callousness in ourselves, not only in the public servants, manifested by our habit of taking a great deal of political irregularity and political immorality for granted. We hunch our shoulders and say, "Well, there's nothing to be done about it." We see developing in our country an increasingly cynical attitude towards politicians. The concept of the statesman is gradually disappearing. As a matter of fact, we hardly ever hear the word any more. We see a change in the attitude of people to government. We see developing the idea that government is the source of something which must be obtained at all cost, to put it in specific terms, that government is the means for the distribution of other people's money. We see developing--and this, I think, is probably the most serious of all--a very unhappy attitude on the part of our citizens toward the courts. Now the courts are the bulwark of democracy because the courts are the umpires, and the politicalization of them will destroy the confidence of every sensitive person in a democracy. And finally, we have the creation of mutual distrust. One

party seeks to arouse public distrust in another by way of newspapers and speakers. A group having special political convictions is creating distrust in the public mind with respect to groups that have different ideas.

Democracy cannot function in this type of atmosphere. Democracy can survive only if we adopt the principles of conciliation and compromise, which rest on the homely virtues to which I have referred. The most urgent need of the day, therefore, from the standpoint of education, is the development of the moral character of our citizens by the development and encouragement of these virtues, honesty, integrity, responsibility, tolerance, sportsmanship. Upon these virtues the safe enjoyment of freedom and the necessary development of restraint depend. This is true for me, it is true for you, it is true for your political representatives, it is true for the leaders and members of your pressure groups, it is true for Mr. Green and Mr. Lewis, it is true for Mr. Roosevelt, and it is true for Mr. Hitler. This, I think, was what was meant by the Old Testament psalmist when he said. "Without vision, the people perish."

A DESIRABLE FOREIGN TRADE POLICY FOR AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

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In taking up my topic, international trade, I have only one reservation. It rises out of the fact that here is one topic on which all competent economists are agreed. The universality of that agreement gives a little uneasiness, as Mr. Einstein must have had when all physicists accepted, without qualification, Newtonian mechanics. I certainly shall not want to discuss the limitations of what we know in economics as the principle of comparative advantage and what these limitations entail in an analysis of foreign trade, but the fact does remain that economists have, virtually to a man, pointed out again and again the gain that there is to be had from trade between and among nations; and, surprisingly enough, it is in this particular area that governmental policy, regardless of party labels, disregards economic analysis most consistently.

One might summarize, from the view of agriculture, the recent foreign trade policies that we have followed as (1) that prevailing up until the World War, often called the Golden Age of American Agriculture, during which we sold more commodities abroad than we purchased to pay, by and large, the interest which we owed, which was due on investments of foreigners in this country, investments which were used largely to build our railroads, and (2) that after the War, the era during which we followed a policy of exporting and accepting the "debt paper" of foreigners. The second period we called the New Era.

And now (3) the New Deal which in this particular sphere has been a policy of buying gold, or taking gold at fancy prices, \$35 an ounce, instead of taking bills receivable. We now have 14 billion dollars worth of that metal, 14 billion dollars worth of gold at our price. We have more than half of the banking gold of the world. Put that fancy price high enough, obviously we will get all of it eventually, for certainly the people of other countries will become ingenious enough to find ways and means of running banking systems without any gold. That is not impossible. Another nice little economic principle--fix your price high enough, and whether it's corn or whether it's gold, you'll get it. We're getting it. This is part of the New Deal foreign trade policy. The constructive part is the trade agreement program of Secretary of State Hull.

I.

Now I shall try to bring two aspects of this topic to you, which will be going over old ground. In my own state I have frequently dropped into a farm audience, the evening schools of the Smith-Hughes teachers, and find more pointed questions being raised on foreign trade than you will find from seniors and even first-year graduate students in the handling, critically, of comparative cost analysis. I think that this is one of the most remarkable developments that has taken place in the Corn Belt. May I restate very simply the economic principles involved and try to apply them to the facts in our sphere of interest? I shall also venture certain political observations of policy. They are not primarily economics. While that is out of my field, I feel that you want to see its policy implications.

The economics that is involved in foreign trade is simply the principle of comparative advantage, which means that specialization and the division of labor may be profitable even if carried beyond the boundaries of a country, because if a country has particular advantages in a particular line of production and another country does not, they might both gain by exchange; the same as within a country between a doctor, and farmer; or between Detroit, with its automobile concentration and Iowa with its corn production; as between cotton in the South and corn in the Middle West; it is exactly the same principle. It is merely extending trade across international boundaries.

Our standard of living is, in large part, possible due to the advantages that we have gained in getting more with our effort and our resources by specializing, a very simple principle which Adam Smith clearly stated in pointing out the economic consequences of the division of labor. To put it another way, it is the cheaper, lower cost at which you can get things, if you thus arrange your international and national house. That's all that needs to be said. That's all the economist bases his case on.

II.

Now, where do we stand with reference to our primary commodities in the ladder of comparative advantage? In other words, can we say something, as economists, as to approximately where we stand to gain, if we trade, if we were willing to trade, and if other countries were willing to trade; the willingness represents other values, additional values than those strictly economic.

Let me portray what was true approximately at the time the World War broke out. We had then international trade of a large order among the nations of the world. It was trade between the granaries and the workshops of the world. The industrial countries were the workshops; and the agrarian countries the granaries. That was the basis of the division of labor. That was where the gain arose.

Now, ask yourself the question, "Have there been economic developments which no longer make it profitable to exchange goods between the workshops and the granaries?" On this question we can say a few things that are helpful. Whether industrial goods can be made more cheaply in England, in Germany, in Holland, in Belgium, or more cheaply in the Argentine, Australia, Canada and the United States, particularly the United States, is much less easily answered than formerly. Much of the industrial advantage of western Europe was in coal. The manufacturing that became located near the source of that one particular raw material--we have certainly seen that particular advantage change. Oil has come in; decentralization of power through electricity; and consequently coal has certainly lost its hold as a dominating factor on location of the world workshops. The accumulation and availability of capital has taken with it the development of technology, and as a result the margin of advantage of the workshops of Europe over the workshops of these newer countries has been very greatly narrowed. I doubt if anyone would dispute that. The advantage, if any, that may exist lies primarily in the proportion of population to other resources, giving particularly Germany, Holland, Belgium and England--that's not an inclusive list--an advantage in its skilled labor. Thus from the industrial point of view, it's not technology today, it's not the concentration of coal, but the advantage that they have in the "workshop aspect" which lies primarily in the fact of the relative cheapness of skilled labor.

Now let's look at the granaries and see what has happened to them. Is it also true that the margin of advantage between the old farming areas--agriculture in Germany and Italy and England--has caught up with the agriculture of the United States, Australia and Canada? We must look at changes in agricultural technology.

(1) On the mechanical side, agriculture has progressed rapidly. The granary regions appeared to have profited more from mechanical advancements in production than have the older agricultural countries. However, a turning point is probably on us. More recent progress in mechanics applied to agricultural production is now such that the small farms, for instance of Sweden, Denmark and Germany, are likely to gain as rapidly as the farms of the new agricultural region. Applied mechanics is becoming effective in cutting real cost in the agriculture of these older countries, but certainly the gain over the last 20 years in the broad, has been to the granaries. Hence the result of mechanical advance has probably turned out international cost position in agriculture in our favor.

(2) In chemistry. There clearly the gain has been chiefly to the older countries. The progress in chemistry applied to agriculture has undoubtedly lowered the real cost for more of the farmers of the older countries, much more than it has been effective in doing so in the major surplus agriculture countries. It won't be necessary for me to follow this further because you see it immediately once it is called to your attention.

(3) In biological development. Its application to agriculture is chiefly in plant and animal genetics and control of disease and pests. The high agricultural specialization that we have in America and the other granaries has increased the risk of loss from diseases and pests. Therefore, we have had to overcome an increasing disease and pest incidence; nevertheless, the contributions of science to date have been primarily to the benefit of the granaries and not to the European agriculture. That, too, may change soon. It hasn't yet. There isn't the evidence today certainly in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, England, that they are going to profit from the geneticist in such things as hybrid seed corn, hybrid swine and other applications of biology, as seems to be true and is true in the agriculture here.

In general it appears that while the advantages in making industrial products between the old workshops and the new workshops have narrowed, there is probably even greater advantage in a strictly real cost sense for the granaries to produce the agricultural products, and for Europe, the old workshops, still to buy them. The exchange, therefore, would turn on the selling of the products of skilled labor to us, which would suggest a particular problem on the industrial side which I think we are very keenly aware of, and that is that it becomes much more marginal as to which products in the industrial picture we select to produce outside because of our advantage in them, and which products we might let them produce and import because of their advantage.

III.

Now I want to take up specific major agricultural products, wheat, cotton, lard and fruit. Obviously the past teaches us that we specialized in cotton in the South because the cotton lands were so well adapted and suited to

cotton production that we were, through them, using not only the resources to best advantage, but we had advantage apparently over any other people who might want to grow cotton. That that advantage has been disturbed somewhat is obvious in the sense that other cotton areas have come into the picture. That it is still the best use of those resources, both for domestic and foreign consumption I believe there is absolutely no doubt. That we are likely to lose out because of technology in other cotton producing countries seems to me is rather remote. The world monopoly we once held--almost the only source of that fiber--has changed and is likely to continue to do so, but I think one can say, without any great danger of contradiction, that the cotton lands of the South are still primarily best suited in the world economy and the American economy, for cotton production. The next alternative for most cotton land is a great step-down and accordingly a bad misuse of those resources.

In the case of wheat, the problem is more stratified and complex. There are really five types of wheat in the United States: the wheat that you grow through here and to the east, soft winter wheat is on a domestic basis. You have no comparative advantage in these in world trade. Your wheat doesn't enter into foreign commerce at all, and it is in the same category, by and large, as other strictly domestic goods. Some goes into pastry production and much of it goes to feed. At the other extreme the soft, white wheat on the Pacific Coast is almost strictly an export product. There is little doubt that the resources of that area are primarily best suited for wheat. The hard spring wheat has gone to a domestic basis, and while we tend to export a bit, it is primarily of an inferior quality, certainly our comparative advantage in this type has shrunk substantially. The durum wheats are in the peculiar situation of vacillating, being very subject at the present time, of course, to national policy, particularly of Italy. Once North Dakota, South Dakota and Montana get anything like what they think is normal weather, the output there will be greatly in excess of domestic requirements. The great volume of wheat that troubles the United States most, because of less market outlet abroad, is the wheat produced in Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Colorado and part of Nebraska--the hard winter wheat. My guess is that we probably have a comparative advantage in hard winter wheat that is still considerable, if it were on a real cost basis.

Turning from any cost advantage one may have, it is apparent that the international political situation with reference to wheat is wholly discouraging for better trade. Even though we did have and do have, I believe, a considerable real gain in terms of our cost relationships to the outside world and competitors in the case of the white wheat of the Pacific Coast, and some in the hard winter wheat, the world today looks upon wheat so much as a national necessity and a defense commodity that Mr. Hull even from "non-nationalistic" Sweden couldn't get any concessions at all on wheat. It is one of those ironies of pressure groups that the millers, particularly the Minneapolis group, endorsed the reciprocal trade agreement program in its beginning on the assumption that they would like to see us once more tie into the world economy and see wheat move. They saw a gain for wheat. But Mr. Hull has certainly not been able to give much satisfaction because he found it virtually impossible to get concessions for wheat. All the Swedes, for instance, would do was to guarantee that they would not raise the tariff any further on wheat--which may be considered a concession if you wish.

Passing on to lard, in which we had at one time almost as big a monopoly as we have had in the past on cotton in the world trade. A third of our lard went into export,--federally inspected slaughter lard. But the picture has changed very notably, not because other countries have come in to produce lard more cheaply; not at all, and to the extent that the world consumers, the housewives

of other countries, want to consume lard, we are still in a strong monopoly position in the Corn Belt to produce the lard. The real competitor, of course, of lard, eating into the gains of the past, is coming from the vegetable kingdom. In this country it is primarily cottonseed oil that is definitely backing lard out of the kitchen, and doing it on a strict cost basis. In spite of the hog farmers wanting to get tax on lard substitutes and what not, trying to follow the "political bargaining" of the dairy people in that regard, in the oleomargarine taxes, the trend is likely to continue. The fact is that within the United States the vegetable oil from cottonseed, and in the outside world, it is also a vegetable oil primarily that coming from coconuts that is so adversely affecting the market for lard. The lard situation certainly has changed against the hog farmer, largely because of substitute fats and oils coming from the vegetables. It looks like a happy development for the consumer, and an unhappy one for the corn-hog farmer, if he believes that his by-product should pay him a considerable return when he sells the hog.

Finally, in the case of fruit, let me say that, in the main, our ratio of advantage has widened. It has not stood still, as probably has been true in cotton, nor shrunk as it has certainly done in wheat, with the possible exception perhaps of soft white and hard winter wheat areas which are still possible in a trading position. In the case of fruit, technological reasons being the explanation, we are probably in a stronger cost position than before the War.

IV.

Now to comment upon the political aspect, including the reciprocal trade agreement program. The reciprocal trade agreement program, in attempting to reestablish the United States in terms of the cost and price structures of the world, of course has run into the terrific nationalism which is sweeping the world, and certainly any comment that one makes critically of what Mr. Hull has been doing must be tempered. For what he has done, viewed in light of the mad world in which he has found himself, his program certainly stands out as a bit of calmness and a bit of rationality, when on every hand international law and order appears to be forgotten. And yet, from a strategy point of view, from the standpoint of the pressure groups that have logrolled for tariff after tariff, the idea of lowering our high tariff wall by a trade agreement program in contrast to a frontal attack, a unilateral lowering of tariffs quickly and sharply, as might well have been done in the early days of the New Deal, was probably a mistake. The trade agreement program is one that might well be likened to an attempt to amputate a puppy's tail, piece by piece, in order to reduce the howl! Certainly each time you announce a trade agreement, you bring to bear all of the howl of the pressure groups that are involved. Each time there is a terrific political storm. It does seem that it might have been a more simple operation to have decided once and for all where you want to cut the tail and get it over with. From a political point of view, from a standpoint of political strategy, looking back, in my humble opinion it was a grave error for the New Deal not to have taken the unilateral route in lowering our excessively high tariff rates. Now, of course, internal policy did not suggest that. The administration felt it might have been defeated. I doubt if they were right. I think I know agricultural thought sufficiently well to say that on that score they were wrong. The Middle West, the Corn Belt, would have approved the "experiment." Internally, the administration, however, was driving off in seven directions, and domestic policy so overshadowed international policies and so many of the domestic policies

became nationalistic in character--the N.R.A., of course, is an example; the A.A.A. in many ways; that there was this undue emphasis upon even greater self-sufficiency in order to save the domestic situation, that the critics of the point of view I am presenting would say that it was unwise and probably impossible to have succeeded with a more frontal attack.

Looking back, it however was a mistake. This is what I mean. The three leading pressure groups in agriculture are the three farm organizations. The farm bureau here, the grange to your east, and the farm union to the west. We have all three in Iowa. Now very definitely in the early days of the New Deal, even the dairy farmer, the principal members of the grange, was quite definitely aware of the fact that the loss of the foreign market, as it affected the Corn Belt, meant a shift into dairying in many sections and consequently lower butter prices. They saw, for example, that in Iowa we doubled dairy production in a few years and are now the second leading butter state in the United States. Butter output was doubled in the course of a few years, because of the very low price of hogs, and while dairy farmers appear to have forgotten this fact currently, it may be emphasized that it can be doubled again and once again in the next 10 years if the price of hogs gets completely out of line with dairy products. The dairy section of the country represented most distinctly in the grange, has lost its fear of the shift and has begun once more to become quite conscious of its dear little butter tariff, and afraid of the cream and cheese that might come in from Canada. Mr. Hull finds that the grange is certainly not with him on trade agreements, even with a trade agreement with England, which is now under consideration. The farm bureau, which reflects chiefly the Middle West and the cotton South, with Ed. O'Neal as president, has taken a very bold stand on the reciprocal trade agreements and would have taken the same stand, had there been a blanket reduction of tariffs proposed early in the New Deal. Yours is a farm bureau state. Your support of Hull's program has been uncertain, probably largely a leadership factor. The farm bureau membership support is not large in the states to the north of here, for instance, in Wisconsin and Minnesota. Where dairying predominates the undertone becomes one of opposition to the trade agreements. To the west, a stronghold of the farm bureau is Iowa. Farm leadership reflecting the active-thinking farmers is strong for the reciprocal trade agreement and probably would have been equally strong for a more severe slash of tariff rates in the early days of the New Deal.

The farm union, to the extent that its strength lies in the wheat areas, particularly in the hard winter and spring wheat areas, wants the United States to reestablish foreign trade for wheat. Even strong G.O.P. papers in that section, take for example, in Kansas City, urge a more liberal foreign trade policy. The farm union, as it ties into the sugar beet area--and it does--one finds quite the other point of view, and to be explained, of course, in the fact that in that industry the very existence of the agriculture in some areas depends upon the tariff subsidy.

As we have moved away from the depression years following 1932, when the New Deal took power, the administration certainly has lost much of the support for lower trade barriers that it might have had from the agricultural sections at the beginning.

V.

The pending trade pact with the United Kingdom will be an extremely important step in bringing America once more into somewhat of a rational economic

relationship with much of the outside world. The items that are likely to be in it, the concessions that would be made on both sides, will probably be as important to American agriculture as all the other trade agreements combined. The agreement with the United Kingdom will require that we reconsider our agreement with Canada, and Australia and New Zealand will probably want concessions in order to release England from the Ottawa agreement--and permit us to get into her market. The United Kingdom is the most important agricultural market we have abroad. From a very practical point of view, the pending Britain trade agreement --if we wish to make the talk realistic--is something we can take hold of here in the Corn Belt. It is to our gain, distinctly to the best interest of American agriculture, as well as to the interest of economy in general.

Finally, may I say two things: one, some economists, in examining the probable gain to agriculture from international trade claim too much. The Department of Agriculture is now tending to claim too little. Thus we have those in academic circles often saying that if we only got foreign trade reestablished and going, that our agricultural problems would largely disappear. I certainly don't subscribe to the latter point of view. But we can gain a bit and thus make our agricultural problem that much easier. This is particularly true for the worst of our agricultural problems--the Cotton South. It certainly is going to be more difficult to solve than all the others put together. As Extension people, as people in academic circles, we are likely to avoid, and therefore likely not to take advantage of the fact that policy is largely determined by interested pressure groups. How can these come to reflect more intelligibly the national interest, and their own best, enlightened interest? Is it not our obligation to facilitate this end? Here is a field in which I think a lot can be done in getting an intelligent basis for understanding the real gains that might come to us from international trade. In this section of the Corn Belt the immediate interest of farmers tends to parallel the general interest and certainly, therefore, our task should be the easier, in spite of a G.O.P. tradition that ties back into the Civil War.

Obviously, the Democrats today, by and large, seem to be just as high tariff minded as the Republicans. Accordingly, to examine the merits of more liberal trade does not entail taking on the stigma of any party label. You can certainly leave that aside and approach it strictly on its economic consequences.

Now, I feel that our State Department errs notably in that it does not take the American people sufficiently into its confidence. It does not let us know enough. It does not point out the losses and the gains that might result from the steps that they take. The Department of State, in my humble opinion, still operates too much in an atmosphere of diplomacy--that the people at home should not know until you can announce the thing fully--that their actions must be guarded carefully, because of its international repercussions. If the Department of State, in the last five or six years, had put the facts on its trade agreements before the people, actively, aggressively, say through our Extension Service, not in order to propagandize, but to give them a detailed accurate picture of what was being done, such a policy would have taken the wind out of the sails of the special producer pressure groups, and created other pressure groups of more general interest in the national welfare.

Let me illustrate how such a procedure might have worked. A member of the State Department came to the campus. He came to talk with a number of us. Why to us? I don't know. But he wanted to prepare a bit of backfire, if you

please, propaganda, against which they could announce the English Trade Agreement. They were about to announce it then. The whole thing had been virtually settled--the English had reached an agreement with the United States, along with the various members of the Empire. In announcing it they wanted to be sure that they could hold their lines for a couple of months because they felt sure the agreement would wear well, once it was working. Our reaction was, "Your technique is perfectly ridiculous--you are coming out here to tell the farmers through editorials and so on, that this is going to be all to his benefit and that he should support it. Why don't you meet directly with these farm pressure groups? Why not call in the head of the dairy group, the head of the beef group, the head of the swine group--call in the heads of the three farm organizations--and tell them what you are doing and ask them what they think of it, and whether or not they think it's worth while." We suggested also that the Department of Agriculture be invited to give whatever interpretation it wished, because the farm people have had many contacts with the Department of Agriculture, and have a great deal of confidence in the leaders in the U.S.D.A. The Department of State representative was absolutely afraid of such a procedure. He found all kinds of excuses for not wanting to do it. We told him bluntly that we could not enter into any propaganda, all we could do was to act openly and above board. It was finally arranged that they were to come out, send a representative of the Department of State, and they did send one of their best men, and a representative of the Department of Agriculture came. They took a day with the farm leaders of the state, the master of the Grange, the president of the farm bureau, the president of the farm union, and eight or nine presidents of these commodity associations, and discussed the pending English trade pact. The amazing thing was that they spent practically the whole day--I sat in that conference--insisting that the man of the Department of State and the Department of Agriculture answer: what evidence can you give us that we won't again be "sold down the river" if tariffs are lowered as we were every time when tariffs were raised? That was the critical question that every farm leader wanted answered. I certainly hadn't anticipated that kind of a question. The farmers came back at these two men again and again that whole forenoon and most of the afternoon and said, "What is the proof? How is this trade agreement made? How do we know that you really are going to get the tariffs down this time and won't be lowering them on agricultural products alone because we're the weak pressure group? Will you not keep them up on industrial products? What assurance have we that this thing is going to go down with some justice between commodities as it never appeared to have done when the tariffs were raised?" Well, the two men were successful in convincing the group that there was a good chance that as tariffs were being lowered in the trade agreements, that agricultural commodities would not be treated unfairly or unjustly. The response was noteworthy. The dairy man led off (he's the president of our cooperative creameries in the state; has been in the national dairy council for years; a man who is high in the Republican state organization; he was speaker of the House for years). He said that he was very well aware of the fact that the dairy farmer had more to fear from the shifting of the hog farmer into cows than he had from imports of New Zealand butter, and as far as he was concerned, and he was sure his group would concur, it was to the best interest of Iowa agriculture to have more trade with England. The grange representative took the same point of view.

That meeting was a process of enlightening, of taking these pressure groups into the confidence of the State Department and letting the facts and the procedures and the intended aim speak for itself.

SOCIAL PHILOSOPHIES

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Madam Chairman: I have recast some of the points which I wish to discuss with you in the light of the discussion yesterday afternoon, the first of the discussions at which I have been present. What I shall say today will be addressed, in part at least, to some of the issues raised then, in an effort to give something of the historical background of those issues. Tomorrow I should like to try to apply some of the considerations that I shall discuss today to the problem that particularly confronts us in our local and state governments--that of integrating the powers, the personnel, and the different phases of programs that come from the national, state, county, and township levels of government, and, indeed, still another level which may be inserted between the national and the state--the regional levels. As I see it there is a peculiar opportunity and challenge in the field of extension work, in all of the fields of administration that have to do with natural resources, a challenge which faces particularly the American people of this period and perhaps of the next two or three decades.

The points which were raised yesterday afternoon that seemed to me most urgent in this connection have to do, first of all, with the beginning question--the extent and the amount of government. I think it was Dr. Lyon who made the suggestion that perhaps it was really economical and efficient to have a good many different kinds of government, because then your society is making very flexible adjustments to special problems, and that you could devise one of these governmental arrangements for one of these problems and have it handled most efficiently and most economically. There is the offsetting danger that you will increase your costs. There is a danger which is very frequently overlooked, and I think we have it present and have had it present for a long time, that of so cutting up our governments into little pieces that nowhere, particularly in the local and state governments, is any general view, any balanced view, taken. In the city in which I live you are apt to find people thinking of the city government either in terms of the schools--not the whole school system at that, one set of schools, and then another set, the vocational schools--or of the library, or of the parks, or of some other department, because our government is all split up into those pieces and nobody stops to give total consideration to the government of the city as a whole and the problems of the city as a whole. I wish to speak today of that first issue--the amount of government.

Then we have heard so much of the pressure groups, and I would like to say something about them from this constitutional background, here introducing it only by the suggestion that they are an inevitable part, it seems to me, of any human society in the gathering of people of like interests. All the philosophies of politics from the very earliest time have included group interests as central to any discussion of government. If we deplore this or that particular pressure or action of a pressure group and want to throw the whole business out, we may be attempting to throw out the very most essential elements of human society--not that they're good, not that they're bad, but that they are there. I am reminded of a story that President Lowell of Harvard used to tell of the lady who once said to him, in connection with his book on parties, that she thought

that politics would be interesting and would be fine, if only you could leave the parties out--she thought parties were pretty bad. His reply was that the game of tennis would be very much easier to play if you took out the net. Similarly with pressure groups, the problem essentially is one of balancing them in such a way as to have their contact with one another directed toward widening the outlook, mutually, of the groups in contact, as against leaving the pressure groups in such a stage of organization and development that you get either, as we did, a Civil War, in which our system broke down, or you get the sort of thing that we have been witnessing recently in the Munich Pact. There you have, of course, very urgent pressure groups that failed, over a period of years, to reach some mutual adjustment.

Finally, the point raised yesterday and again touched upon this morning: the fact that to obtain relative freedom it is necessary that we restrain ourselves, regulate ourselves; or, as I think again Dr. Lyon put it, in order to preserve freedom of contract you may have to forbid certain types of freedom of contract. You could not permit a group in an industry to sit around a table and enter freely into an agreement to limit the markets or fix prices, because by so doing for all future time freedom of contract for others would be destroyed. Or, as illustrated by the point made this morning concerning free speech, it would be absurd, morally, to permit freedom of speech to be used as a device, as an instrument for achieving a society in which freedom of speech would be nonexistent.

I suggest that all of these problems have been present right through American life, and that the essentials of our thinking and our organization about politics really are to be found in the way in which we have treated these problems. I am going to go back to the very beginnings of the republic to try to establish my point, to see whether it will throw some light upon where we stand today, and what we have to do. I go back to the first of the larger governments of which we were a part and from which we broke away--America as a part of the British Empire. I turn, for illustration of one of the fundamental trends in American thinking, to the Declaration of Independence. I have put on the board a reference to a book--Carl Becker's "The Declaration of Independence," for a superb exposition of that document and what lies behind it. The effort to build up a planned, "mercantilist imperial system"--that is, a system in which quite deliberately the statesmen tried to balance various economic interests--was challenged, of course, by the Declaration of Independence and the Revolutionary War. The Americans had been brought within that system, or let us say more accurately, they grew up as a part of that system. You know the details. They were guaranteed certain markets for their raw material, their produce, their commodities, in exchange for which they were to serve as a market for the manufactured goods of the Old Country. There were restrictions affecting currency affecting finance, affecting the shipment of goods; in fact, none of the devices which we think of as a part of a planned economic system were absent, in essence, from that imperial system. The difficulty came, as a difficulty always does come, in the amount and the influence of those that were injured. Gradually in different fields--investment, shipping, manufacture, and the like--groups arose in this country who felt it would be more advantageous to be outside of that imperial system, marketing their tobacco, let us say, in ports other than Bristol and the other English ports, and carrying on trade in parts of the world forbidden to them. There were others who resented that same imperial system in other ways--some in matters of religion or, more accurately, of sectarian organizations. They were fearful that England would, after making an agreement under the Quebec Act with the French Canadians, permit their churches to be undermined.

Now what makes the effort of the Americans to break that planned system particularly interesting to this day is the statement with which they accompanied their actions, the Declaration of Independence. It is often thought of as an attack upon organized government and it is, of course, in a fundamental sense a revolutionary document. But it is also a case for the establishment of an alternative government and, properly read, the Declaration will seem to be quite as emphatic in the establishing of a new government as in the rejection of the old. May I read you just a sentence--it's a long sentence, but it contains the essence of their arguments: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." So it is not, strictly speaking, what we call in our academic jargon, a laissez-faire document. The American people were saying, "We reject the particular set of regulations that have been developed in the British imperial system, but we now propose to institute our own set."

That took the form, as you know, at the start, of a continuance of a rather loose relationship between what had formerly been separate colonies and now were confederated free states. There you come upon the sets of coercions, of pressures, due to circumstances, that led these states after a period, first of war and then of peace, to decide that some new form of government would have to be instituted. The difficulties in time of war we are familiar with from the story of Valley Forge--the failure to finance the armies, and the fact that the state troops would go home when their terms had expired without considering the needs of national defense. You know the difficulties also of diplomacy, recounted again for us in the new "Life of Benjamin Franklin" by a graduate of this University, Carl Van Doren. Granted that they had broken from one set of regulations of an imperial sort, they had not yet achieved regulations that would enable them effectively to resist the coercion or coercions that threatened their very existence as separate and independent states. When peace came, there were problems that were quite as urgent and difficult, and there we find appearing the very real farmer pressure groups. They are by no means recent creations. I happened to go to school in a section of the country in which they flourished in the somewhat unfertile hills of western Massachusetts; and it's rather ironic, because in that area in which Daniel Shays and his followers took up arms against the courts that were about to enforce their mortgage contracts against them the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in very recent years has been building a very beautiful scenic highway, which is called "The Daniel Shays Highway." So my advice for any of you for a certain kind of fame is to lead an agrarian revolt in an area which eventually will warrant that kind of public monument.

That revolt of Daniel Shays was only one of many incidents which frightened the groups--shall I say the more substantial groups--of the victorious states. If you turn to the Constitution and to the most important part of the Constitution--Article 1, Section 8, in which powers are conferred upon Congress--you will find the practical genius of the framers of the Constitution is well illustrated by the way in which they took all of the most urgent problems of that period of early peace and found some means of solving them. They had found the national government weak financially--it could not finance itself; its loans were

sinking; they gave the new government power to tax and to borrow, instead of being dependent upon the states. There was a question of the power of military defense. They gave that, perfectly clearly, to the new government, to raise and support armies. They were fearful, too, of the possibility that the share-the-wealth movements in the states, of the Daniel Shays type, which existed after the Revolution, would get out of hand, would lead the courts in the states to be afraid to enforce contracts and mortgage agreements. So they followed Article I, Section 8, by two other sections, one of which outlined the restrictions to be placed upon Congress to prevent it from abusing power in the interests of one section or interest. Then, what we often forget, they wrote in the restrictions on the states that would prevent the states from injuring the exercise of the national powers. Among those restrictions were restrictions on their issuing money, emitting bills of credit, and so on, and of interfering with the enforcement of contract rights. You may agree or disagree with the wisdom of the decisions the framers made in shifting from one system under which you had thirteen relatively weak states coerced by circumstances to a new system in which they hoped to regain the old bargaining power which the empire possessed as a whole, and attach it to the new United States of America with power to finance itself, to go in to the markets of the world and force negotiations for opening up those markets which had been closed after the Revolution. They had forgotten the advantages of the empire, and they found, when the war was over, that they needed to replace them by some alternative system.

The Constitution, as it was drafted in Philadelphia in 1787, gives us this great basic conception of a national society which will govern itself through at least two major instruments of government--a national government with power to handle national problems, and the states' historic entities with their long period of colonial development, as the instruments through which the non-national, the local, problems will be dealt with. As we know, the document which was accepted, drafted by the convention, could not get acceptance in the state conventions. There is a very interesting and striking parallel between the fight over the Constitution in the state conventions and the fight over the League of Nations covenant in Congress. It was only after reservations were attached, ultimately the ten we know as the first ten amendments, forced by the powerful state political machines or organizations, that the Constitution was adopted. The tenth of those amendments has had immense importance in our history in that it reserved all the other powers not specifically given to the states. You can see why those active in state politics would want that nailed down. On that hangs, of course, the decision of the Supreme Court a few years ago in the famous *Hoosac Mills Case* concerning the A.A.A., because it was argued by Mr. Justice Roberts that agriculture is a local question and as a local question, therefore, no national coercive power should be employed in the implementing of an agricultural policy. You can see how this traces back to the constitutional and social conflicts of the 1780's and how our contemporary life is affected by the decisions taken in the light of those conflicts.

I have put on the board also a reference to a book published more recently than Becker's, on the drafting particularly of this Section 8 of Article I, and in particular the drafting of the commerce clause--Walton Hamilton's "The Power to Govern," a book supplementing Becker. Becker gives you the declaration, Hamilton gives you one part at least of the issue that was raised in the Constitutional Convention. How would this new federal system develop? The uncertainty, the ambiguity created by the subsequent amendments made it possible for different views to be taken as to the nature of this new government, the alternative to the

old one. Sometimes people try to explain our party system in terms of that issue. I don't think really that one can do that successfully. I would say, broadly speaking, that the "outs" are always states' rights people and the "ins" are always nationalists, and for obvious reasons. If your party is in power you want to give it power to govern; if your party is out of power you want to hamstring the party that's in power, and the best way to do that is to claim that a certain matter is a matter of states' rights. Similarly with pressure groups--if a pressure group is in control of the national government, or influential, it will be for the nationalizing constructions of the Constitution. If it isn't, it will prefer to take its chances on the state, knowing that increasingly in our economy the states have not the practical power to accomplish very much in the way of large social power. That does not make them unimportant, but from the point of view of national markets or international markets, or the sorts of problems which have just been discussed this morning, they yield, of course, in terms of practical effectiveness to the national government. There was one man, Calhoun, who lifted this debate--I won't say above the level of party strife because I think that implies party strife is illegitimate, and I don't think it is. Indeed, we must drop the notion that a politician, or party conflict, is of an inferior, sub-human level. After all political issues are matters of public housekeeping. There are certain things we do as individuals, certain things we do in the home. There are other things which we have to do through some larger, collective organization, and surely the business of organizing opinion, administering that policy, is quite as respectable as any other human activity. So when I say that Calhoun lifted this debate above the ordinary party conflict, I mean only that he, in statement of the issues, goes beyond the immediate occasion, the conflict which had developed in his time. No one section is peculiarly the section of state's rights as against nationalism. Indeed, New England led off; even before we got the Union you could say Vermont led off in that she went so far as to intrigue with the British Government to see what terms she could make if she went over to Great Britain instead of staying with the other 13 colonies. In 1814-15 the New England States as a whole intrigued together against the national policy of war with Britain. Later on it was the Southern States; earlier again, Kentucky and Virginia, with their famous resolutions.

Calhoun's argument is an extremely interesting one in the light of present-day pressure group debate. Calhoun went back to certain fundamental conceptions--that is, in his mind fundamental conceptions--of the nature of human nature. He started with the proposition that all men are selfish; nevertheless, they are also social. It's the old paradox that Aristotle had pointed out. Man is by nature a political animal. Having to live in society, yet being selfish, he has to devise some scheme of organization that will protect each individual against the selfishness of the other individuals. That is accomplished, said Calhoun, by giving each man a vote so that he may vote in his own defense. So far, so good--but, says Calhoun, there's a catch in it. Democracy is all right; one man, one vote, but there are also interests that, generally speaking, arise out of certain natural factors such as climate and resources. The people from any one section of the country will tend to have certain interests--they may be interests in trade, in navigation, in banking; they may be interests in a commodity, like cotton. Now it may happen that one particular interest or one set of interests may by this process of one man, one vote, come to control the government by reason of the fact that it possesses a majority. He said that if this happens interest will abuse its position; it will prostitute its power as against the other interests that are minority interests. The only way to have genuine constitutional government in which the rights of all are protected is to balance the numerical majority, the majority of counting heads, by what he called "the concurrent majority," the majority of the interest groups affected. That sounds very modern. It sounds

to you like some of our jargon of recent years, such as guild socialism, or syndicalism, and, in essence, that's what it was. Calhoun said that the nearest thing in our constitutional system to a political expression of those interests is the state, because there you get, very roughly it is true, the physical resources expressing themselves through the politics of the area--South Carolina interested in the export of its cotton, Massachusetts interested in the spread of railroads and manufactures at home, and so on. Consequently, if a majority abuses its power as against the minority and tries to make, as a national policy, a measure which will simply favor its interest, then the minority, the states acting on their behalf, may in the last resort secede from the Union, since the constitutional basis has been destroyed. I think it is rather useful to look at that argument just to see where the pushing of the interest to an excess leads you. When one hears talk nowadays of this, that, or the other interest having been injured and, therefore, of standing upon some theoretical doctrine of states' rights, it is just as well to remember that's all right if you want to pay the price. The price was a very bloody one and, in terms of material goods, a tremendously expensive one for this country.

As against it, Calhoun's interpretation, there was the position which was assumed by Lincoln. I would add to the books mentioned above, Calhoun's "Disquisition on Government" for those of you who are interested in this problem, above all, any selection of Lincoln's papers. I think that the greatest of all American state papers is Lincoln's Second Inaugural. Lincoln's argument was founded on a study of two documents--the Declaration and the Constitution. You can't go through Lincoln's letters and speeches without seeing how tremendously he concentrated upon a study of them. I had the good fortune, two weeks ago, to see a new play by Robert Sherwood called "Abe Lincoln in Illinois," which I strongly commend anyone to see when it's within their range. One of the fine things about it is this--that much of the actual dialogue is taken by the writer from Lincoln's own recorded conversation and speeches. Furthermore, it is significant as a study of the younger Lincoln in his formative years, the final scene being his farewell speech from the rear of the train as he is leaving Springfield to go to Washington to take up the presidency. Incidentally, it teaches us all a good lesson in seeing that Lincoln and other great national heroes were politicians. After all, if public housekeeping requires public housekeepers, let's not sneer at people doing that job. Lincoln's argument, put very briefly, was that the message of the Declaration was so far-reaching, it had so much to offer to the world, and the threat of secession to the success of that message being heard would be so serious, if not fatal; that the Union was the supreme and ultimate end and ideal and objective; that we had created not merely a loose federation of states, we had created a new entity, the United States of America, functioning through the two instruments of a national government and the state governments, and so he would use force to suppress the effort to destroy that unit. I suppose the most terrible and the most tragic decision that has ever fallen upon any American to make was the decision which he had to make when he went to Washington. Our system had failed to avoid the conflict, or the men working it had failed to avoid it, which is worth keeping in mind when we pass too severe judgment on moderns.

Lincoln's victory was nailed down, it was hoped, by some more amendments. The new amendments, the 13th, the 14th, and the 15th, are in extremely interesting and sharp contrast with the first ten amendments. The first ten, you remember, were the state organizations saying to Washington, Hamilton, Jay, and the others, "We won't accept your document, except on these terms." The framers had

to pay that price. The new amendments were the victorious Republican party saying, "This victory of arms establishes the supremacy of the nation as a whole, and the states must enforce those natural rights of citizens of the United States, and if they don't enforce them, then here are devices which can be used by the national government to enforce them." It is supremely ironic that Senator Borah, for example, could argue against the proposed anti-lynching law, in light of the 14th amendment that was drafted, above all things, to protect the new status of the negro. The 14th amendment, restricting the states, presumably to protect the negro in his new position has been used primarily to make it difficult, under the "due process" interpretations, for the states, on the one hand, to enter into certain fields of social control; and by an equal irony, at the same time the courts have held that under the 10th amendment--in the Hoosac Mills case which I cited--the national government couldn't enter these fields because they were reserved for the states. So you have the position in which, constitutionally, there might be areas, so-called "no man's land," in which neither level of government could be exercised.

Then there has been the rise, and a very rapid rise in recent years, of a practice which is unfortunate--the states have begun to use their police power, their power to regulate individuals, for protecting public health, for example--to enter into the regulation of interstate commerce that was forbidden them by Article 1 of the Constitution.

Earlier this week, before coming down to this meeting, I was present at the regular annual meeting of the National Association of Dairy, Food and Drug officials, and the president of that association in his presidential address stated that in his opinion the major task before that association now was to fight the increasing erection of what are essentially tariff barriers, preventing the goods of one state from flowing into another state under the guise of quarantines or of protection of standards of food. I talked with the Commissioner of Agriculture of an eastern state last June and he told me that he was discouraged by seeing daily the exploiting of what are supposed to be powers given to the state for the protection of health of the people, used to protect a certain milkshed or a certain marketing area. There are all sorts of simple devices--a state will say that no cream shall be used in ice cream making in the state unless it comes from farms which have been inspected by State Board of Health Inspectors; then by the simple device of never sending their inspectors across into the natural milkshed over the state line they confine the source of supply to their own farmers, and so on. There is a constant cutting down of freedom of the flow of goods in what we had assumed was a national economic system. That is not the only problem of levels of government and of restriction. Important as the international tariff problem is, I am inclined to think we might sharpen our knives on some very close to home.

But there is another regional question that comes in that was only perhaps vaguely envisaged by the drafters of the Constitution, although Hamilton points out that they had certain regional problems in mind. I refer to the rise of problems in this country which are smaller than the nation in area and, therefore, do not do best under completely national treatment because the whole country doesn't understand the region; and they are larger than the state, and hence can't be settled by the state. Take, for instance, the problems of the Great Plains. Reference has been made to that area in terms of its wheat production. I came across, not long ago, in a secondhand book store, an old government document of the year 1879, a report of Major John Powell, one of our great and dis-

tinguished creative men, a geologist, explorer, second head of the U. S. Geological Survey. In 1879 he submitted to Congress a report on the arid regions, and you can imagine the real estate people, if any, of those regions of those times, wincing. He says, "Look at your climate, look at your rainfall figures," and then he went further and analyzed, from personal observation--he had explored the whole region--what little there was of an economy in the region, and included in his report specific drafts of legislation that repealed the Homestead Act. Why? Because he said that no unit of less than 2,500 acres could survive. Ours must be a grazing economy, and a grazing economy in a region of little rainfall means collective government intervention to protect water supply and regulate its use. It means, and this may sound particularly interesting to you people familiar with agricultural cooperatives' efforts--it means, he says, forming grazing organizations, associations; and here's a bill to organize them. All this was in 1879. Most unfortunately, I think, we failed to follow his advice. The pressure of the railroads, the real estate people, and others, was too great. I think that in very large measure, that vast area of land cannot be dealt with by Nebraska, by North Dakota, by South Dakota, by New Mexico, because it's a unit from Canada to the Mexican Border, so far as the United States is concerned, and that it requires, therefore, some treatment by the nation, some by the states, some by its local units--counties and townships--but it also requires some unity of treatment as a whole as a Great Plains Area. I would make the same point in regard to the cotton kingdom of the South. I doubt if it is wholly an export problem. It is also a racial problem. It seems to me also a problem of the vast destruction of capital in the Civil War, so that as a result of that destruction of capital, adequate means for financing its schools and its other amenities of public house-keeping were denied for generations. I would cite still another area--there are many--the Lake States Out-Over Region, which some of you may know from vacationing. That region constitutes a natural unity--Northern Michigan, Northern Wisconsin, Northern Minnesota--just as the Northern New England States and Northern New York constitute a natural unity, requiring very complicated, careful treatment and a treatment not merely by the states. If Wisconsin tried to do it alone she might cut her own throat in terms of the development of a permanent wood-using industry, unless the adjacent areas of the other states were thrown into the same picture. The three lake states need to work together similarly in terms of recreational use, just as the Northern New England Area and Northern New York Area have a common program of that sort. Again, take other examples of regional units--the milkshed of New York City is no respecter of the state lines; the milkshed of Chicago similarly; the watershed of a great river is a regional, not a state or national problem.

From this very rapid and superficial effort to tie together the issues raised yesterday with some of the things that seem to me significant in our constitutional development, my conclusion is that we have always had pressure groups. That's the central problem of government, just as the net is the central problem of government, just as the net is the central problem of the tennis player. Of course, the New England merchants and the Southern planters had views that differed from the Bristol tobacco merchant or the London owners of West Indies colonies, and similarly right down through our history. They operate, these interests, through the particular governmental structure you offer. Now it so happens that with us--and we forget this constantly--we wanted, we asked for, and we got a very complicated system of government--the Federal system. It's the hardest system in the world to operate--vastly harder, for instance, than the British. We often forget that everything is put into a single hopper in Great Britain--the Parliament. The courts are subordinate to the Parliament, the local

governments are subordinate to the Parliament. At any one time you look to that Parliament to find the responsibility for government, but not with us. You can't think of a problem, I daresay, that you could put upon the national government or the state government and hope for its exclusive solution at those points, not even your tariff making, because immediately you have your pressure groups back in the states, operating on the state machine and then operating on the Congressmen and the Senators. You have, therefore, in this country a very difficult, complex system of government as your fundamental political challenge. How then are you going to integrate your policy and your leadership? That is our major question, and to that, in terms of land use and its particular reference to natural resources and agricultural administration, I wish to turn tomorrow.

DEMOCRACY AND GROUP LEADERSHIP

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Mr. Chairman, in our discussion group yesterday afternoon a point which was well raised by one of the members was in the form of a question: "Are we supposed," he said, "now to go out and teach philosophy and sociology and political science, and so on, in our counties?" It's a natural poser in view of the number of things which are being thrown in recent years at the heads of those in such a responsible public position as that of the Extension worker, with new tasks, new challenges of all sorts. In a way it's a penalty of success. Just the other day I heard someone make the comment that when the depression broke, and emergencies of all kinds were upon us, and the national government became the instrument through which all kinds of programs for meeting the emergency were formulated, the Extension Service was the one public organization available to which one could tie together, on the basis of past experience, the resources and the organization of the national, the state, and the local governments. Those of you who had experience with some of the other fields in which national support has been given to local and state programs, through grants-in-aid or other devices, will appreciate how important that experience was. In many of our states, for instance, we have had to improvise almost over night organizations for handling various problems, such as relief, because of the lack of any such instruments in the past. So I should think that the Extension worker would well feel uneasy at all of these sweeping new tasks that are put upon him, or it is proposed to put upon him from time to time, but yet at the same time he can take much pride in having built up this Service, which stands so much as a model. I had just the other day a letter from a friend of mine who is in governmental research work in England, where he has been charged with preparing a report on agricultural research. He asked for material on the organization of Extension work in this country, because they feel over there that this is the form through which their research and agricultural education can best be brought to the local community.

I want to discuss this morning, as a sort of case study of the general issues which I discussed yesterday and which the whole group have been discussing, the application of these general issues to a specific field--the whole problem of land use and of land-use planning. I think that through that one approach we can see how many of the new functions and the new activities have to be tied together back in the local community. Much of this, if not all of it, is, of course, an old story to you from your experience, particularly of recent years. Then there is the plan that was drafted by the Land Grant Colleges with the Department of Agriculture for bringing some coordination into the general field of agricultural planning, in the local areas--that is, in the counties and in the states. But I wish to speak of the problem rather as an illustration of the way in which these various groups and interests operate in this country, as I suggested yesterday, through a very complex system of government. Nevertheless, all activities must be brought into some fairly comprehensive program down in the local community if we are to have the most effective attack upon the problems that those local communities face. Let me suggest, first of all, the fact that only very gradually have we come to realize that a genuine revolution, a really fundamental kind of

revolution, has taken place in this country in the last 50 years in this matter of our relationship to the land. Some of you know that collection of essays of the American historian, Frederick Turner, a man who was at one time, by the way, honored by this University with an honorary degree for his work in American history. Back in the 1890's Turner published his famous paper called "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Among the many wise things which he said in that paper is the fundamental statement in which he called attention to the fact that, broadly speaking, the census report of 1890 showed that the area of free, good land was pretty much used up and that a frontier line could no longer be discerned in the United States. He went on to point out that our institutions had been adapted to this vast extent of free land, or cheap land, and to the fact that almost every generation of Americans, had seen at some point their country living the life of the pioneer, and he said, "What the future will be, we don't know, but we do know that it will no longer be shaped by these two fundamental conditions." Incidentally, the Englishman, Bryce, writing on the American Commonwealth, at that very time was making a somewhat similar prophecy and suggesting that the testing time of American institutions was approaching. Now you can underwrite the truth of Turner's prophecy by any number of examples. I'll just take one or two that occur to me personally. My own ancestors started farming, clearing the land in the Mohawk Valley of New York state, on land which they received in payment for Revolutionary War services; back about 1790 they went up from the increasingly barren hills of Western Massachusetts. That land they cleared with infinite labor on the slopes and plateaus above the Mohawk River from the Adirondack Mountains, and they built up, that generation, various small communities there. We happen to have held that farm in the family down to the present time. The interesting thing is that, in recent years, the area around that farm has been bought back by New York state at a low price per acre to take it out of agriculture. You have only to go to your neighbor state of Wisconsin to find that in the upper half of that state county after county is passing county zoning ordinances that lay down what areas shall be used for forestry and not for agriculture, and in what areas agriculture will continue to be permitted. There again is a tremendously challenging change in policy. Here is a group of free-born Americans, meeting in their townships and then through their Boards of Supervisors acting through a representative system of government, saying to themselves, "Although John Jones owns this particular area of land, he will not be permitted to practice agriculture on that area." Or again go farther west into the region of declining rainfall, in the Northern or Southern Plains, and you will find the United States purchasing back vast tracts of land, taking it out of arable farming, and, interestingly enough, blocking it up very much along the line which Major Powell, as I suggested yesterday, had told them should be the proper treatment of that area.

One could cite many more examples, such as Northern Minnesota, in which state a lot of very interesting and able work has been done on this whole question. Again, in Northern New England time itself has sifted out policies until the hill lands are now in forests for commercial forestry, and even more for recreation, so that today recreation is the major industry of New England, although we think of it as the center of manufacture of textiles, boots, and shoes. We might draw our illustrations from almost any part of the country. The point I wish to make is that here is a profound revolution in our whole basic relationship of man to land in the United States. How did this come about? You are familiar with it from your own work and I will speak only briefly of certain factors in the evolution of this change, so that I may shortly hang some suggestions upon those factors.

There is, first of all, the fact that for a long time the farmer has no longer pressed upon the heels of the lumberman. There was a time when, as the lumberman cleared off the trees in, let us say, the Lake States Cut-Over Region or in the region in which I grew up, the Upper Mohawk, he was succeeded by the farmer, anxious to get upon the land. That is no longer true, for a variety of reasons. We won't quarrel over the term, "surplus," but at least we will admit that on occasions there seems to have been something that you might call a surplus in many of our markets for agricultural commodities and there has not, therefore, been the pressure for settling lands which approach the margin of productivity, except here and there for some unusual reason. The lumberman, therefore, no longer holds lands, paying taxes on them, with a view of selling them to a farmer. Having cut off the timber, he is inclined simply to stop paying taxes and let the land go tax delinquent. Hence in vast areas of our country you have these great tracts of land on which no taxes are being paid--a shrinking tax base--so that the people in that area who are paying taxes have to pay more than their share; and, hence there results a situation which makes it impossible for the local community to meet the most elementary needs of public services. I have spoken in terms of an area in which lumber if being cut off and farming is not succeeding it. You might make the same point in the arid regions, in which there has been attempted arable farming perhaps in some years of unusual rainfall before the settlers grew accustomed to the ways of the region, and in which there is a need similarly to readjust the uses to the nature of the area and in which, year after year, you will find farmers who have had no crop. I have talked to many such men in the Northern Plains. I am thinking at the moment of an able and first-rate settler whom I saw only last summer. He had come out from Illinois ten years ago with some capital. He sank it in the land and since that time he has had about a half of one crop in one year. This is the sort of story which one hears so frequently in parts of the Northern Plains, in terms of the maladjustment of use to the nature of the area. As I say, it's not a problem of lumbering to farming or some other use, it's a problem of readjustment of the unit to be farmed on the basis of a grazing type of agriculture instead of an arable type, but it is a very difficult problem of readjustment in terms of the population that's there, the amount of land which must be blocked out into a new economic unit, and the amount of capital so that you can start in on some new type of operation. In other and older areas--some of you will think of examples perhaps right in this state--your problem may be one rather of exhaustion or erosion of the soil from a failure to meet the current needs of replacement or from a failure of the community generally to make adequate provision for the control of streams or other practices which would protect the soil. I have been reading lately a series of articles on English agriculture, and one of the things that impressed me was the decline recorded by the writer in English agriculture due, he says, to the shipping of the fertility--the capital investment fertility, so to speak--of the lands of the new countries to Europe in the form of tremendous crops through a period of decades, while the farmers were, as he called it, "mining" their soil. It is interesting to get that outside point of view, the suggestion that for many areas (and he spoke of this as being true not merely of the United States, but of Canada and South America, South Africa and Australia) we upset the natural balance and the needs for a permanent occupation and use of the land. One sees that more clearly in the older sections of the country, along the Southern Seaboard, in the Northeastern areas, in the region of New York state, and in New England. Out of this has come farm abandonment, the loss of everything that people have invested in their farms or in the communities that were supported by those farms, the decaying village with its local business and professional enterprises. There naturally results a decline, therefore, in stand-

ards of living of people in those areas. We have the problem in Northern Wisconsin, Northern Minnesota, and Northern Michigan of the temporary lumbering town which vanishes after the timber is cut off and, therefore, a whole stage of development in which you have no effort to build into a permanent community life with the institutions of permanence that we like to think of as a part of our standard of living in this country. As the tax base shrinks, either through erosion of the soil or through lumbering operations, the community that is left, trying to carry on its schools and its roads, turns to the state and through its representation in the state legislatures--oftentimes based upon area, so that in New York state, for instance, the upstate outvotes the cities--gets state aid to help it carry on those services. Sometimes these aids, under some provisions, are distributed in a way to encourage the retaining of small, uneconomic units for schools or for highways. The chief point that I would make in this connection is that through this state aid, and now through federal aid for relief, for highways and various other services such as the Farm Security Administration, these increasing costs of the failure to look ahead and plan wisely our use of the land are now borne by the whole nation, so that even if one lives in a community which is avoiding and has avoided such problems he cannot be indifferent to the existence of these situations, however remote in terms of miles. You may think, for example, that I have dwelt too much upon such a problem as that of the Lake States Cut-Over Region or of the Northern or the Southern Plains, and yet we find those problems reflected in the tax burdens of people in every part of the United States. It is, therefore, in some degree, by reason of that financial burden, a national problem and I think we feel that we would like to see at least a minimum American standard of living for our people wherever they may be, so far as it is humanly and naturally possible to achieve it.

I turn, in the time that remains to me, to a positive attack upon this situation. A revolution has occurred. It will take creative leadership to achieve some effective attack upon this whole set of problems. One of the most important aspects of it is attitudes. The fact that we have grown up for centuries in an expanding type of society, expanding westward to the cheap lands, has given us a slant of mind that makes us resist facing reality. Our first program then, it seems to me, is one familiar to all of you--a program of "knowing thyself" or, applied specifically, of land classification and surveys. Classification of land is based upon surveys of soil, climate, topography, cover, population movements, standards of living, and the needs of each of the communities. I think that that survey work not only should be carried on by the experts and the state institutions that are doing this kind of work, but should be tied into the educational program of the state. The state of Washington is experimenting in that direction, and in Great Britain the whole land-utilization survey, which has been going on now for some years, was in large measure conducted by the students in the secondary schools, obtaining the basic local information under the general guidance and direction of the land survey staff. You can visualize, I think, what it would mean to the children in a school to be brought into that fundamental acquaintance with the basic factors in the community in which they live and to be brought, through that, to some realization of the fundamental problems and issues that will confront them in trying to develop a good life in the community. Such an attack upon these problems would, I think, go very far toward remaking our politics. We have a phrase that I, as a teacher of government, dislike very much and yet I understand it, "We must keep this out of politics," we say. My reply would be that we must put all sorts of things of this sort into politics. By leaving them out we leave to politics the trivial, the personal, the factional type of question; but by knowing our communities in this basic, fundamental sense, and by knowing what actually is there in the way

of raw material out of which to build a standard of living, we make politics important in such a fundamental thing, for instance, as nutrition--how far it is possible for us in this community to provide ourselves with the elements of a diet adequate for health and, in general, for the standards we wish to maintain. I would make our inquiries just as concrete as that and I would start, as we are doing in so many parts of the country in various connections, with the basic land survey, developing it out into the regional survey, with a constantly maintained and changing school and county exhibit, with the maps and the charts and the photographs illustrating fundamentally the nature of that community. I think that somewhere in that kind of relationship between the expert, the various state surveys and experiment stations, land grant colleges, and other institutions of the state of that sort, a relationship will develop between those experts and the people in the local community and the schools which would have a profoundly vitalizing effect upon education and upon politics, because then people would see that the factional, personal, and trivial issue is holding back the consideration by the whole community of the real problems that confront them. From such surveys, uses and needs become more apparent. I have heard some of you speak of problems of land use here in Illinois which would be surprising to a stranger who thinks of the state as one vast sweep of fertile soil. I have heard some of the people here cite this or that area in which, for example, a program of developing forests would be advantageous, or in which there is a need for building up the farm woodlot as a part of the farm management practices, and the need for a planned treatment of this or that watershed. I am convinced that only by the intensive county and township study of our needs can we make practical advance. I believe, of course, as I think we all do, in the efforts to develop state and national natural resources and public works plans, looking ahead to an orderly and economic development; but I believe also that these must be based upon the town and county analyses, of which I have spoken, in order to get right down to the practical and concrete situations. When it comes to carrying out a program that meets these needs, I think we see the task of leadership in our federal system (and by federal I mean not only the government at Washington, I mean all the levels of government federated together) and the tremendous role growing out of the long-time development of the Extension Service and the allied services in agricultural education and administration. I play with the thought that perhaps we will need a tremendous expansion of the actual personnel in Extension work and a reshaping of some of the program of Extension, with a strong emphasis on this whole land use problem. Certainly in many parts of the country--those that I know best--the emphasis in Extension work will need increasingly to be upon problems of forest management and forest practice, as well as the advising of local authorities on either zoning of lands under some state laws as we have in Wisconsin, or through other devices whereby settlement can be kept out of the uneconomic lands, and on studies made for that local region of the most economic size of unit, and other factors of that sort. I suggest that as a possible future line of development, supplementing and adding to the existing services which the Extension Service has performed. What we have now is the growing up, in most of the country, of a series of local agencies--county highway departments, county welfare departments, health departments; supplementing them, the state coming in--state forests, state parks; and in many places we have county forests and county parks. We have been developing the new wildlife preservations or preserves, and that is a thing that I think is going to increase very rapidly. If you study the reports of conservation departments you will find that in the older settled sections of the country already they are going out and leasing streams in order to have public access to fishing, as well as establishing game preserves. As our cities fill up, more and more the

need for some balance, some wilderness experience, even if it is only a day or so in the fields, becomes an essential. There's a whole side of activity and of land use which undoubtedly will develop very greatly, as it already has in the national parks and the state parks in this country; but it needs careful planning. You can't just set aside a piece of land and say, "That's going to be a park." It makes a lot of difference as to what you want. You can have a long-time plan, such as Vermont has, of deliberately encouraging the coming to Vermont of a certain type of people who will eventually settle permanently and retire there, or you can let the thing drift and get in roadhouses, hot dog stands, billboard advertising, and gangster retreats. Either type is possible, and there is some difference between them. You can encourage the development of a permanent forest, instead of a mining of the timber, by releasing the timber owner from paying a general property tax each year and simply taxing him on the crop when it is cut. You can also develop water resources. Here one turns to the national powers over navigable streams, to supplement those of the various state and local authorities. You can bring into a community programs of rural electrification or of replanning of the highways in terms of land use. A very interesting development of that is going to New York state, where the town officials in their meeting this summer went out to Cortland County and Tompkins County, adjacent to Ithaca, where they were meeting, to study the land classification made by the Cornell authorities and the State Planning Board and to relate the classification of lands to the laying out of highways, closing down highways in the lands classified as least available for any economic purpose. They wish to keep people out of the poor lands and discourage settlement as it simply means bankruptcy. A different type of highway is needed for a sparsely settled area of a different class of land, and so on. Similarly, with the planning of schools and other services, we have built up so many different state-aided services that we need very much to pool local, state, and the national contributions and then relate the whole group to the local community. We will then be able to bring to the men and women of that community the suggestions of the experts, but it is the men and women of the community whom they serve who will make the decisions through their local governments as to what the needs and the objectives of the local program should be, and who can best relate them to the objectives of the state and the nation.

That seems to me the kind of job that lies ahead in the next 20 to 30 years, in making this adjustment of our political and economic practices and ideas to what has happened to our use of the land, to our relationship to the land. I think it is a task which is so challenging and which offers so much to a person in the way of helping to create a standard of living of the sort that we want to create in the rural community that there is almost no limit to what it can mean to a group of public servants. I can't help thinking that the point made the other day concerning moral education finds application here, because it is when you are able to do something about the problems that are close at hand that you can not only feel some responsibility but can actually see the point at which steps can be taken. Then you begin to tie together the general intellectual approach with a kind of emotional feeling for one's own neighborhood. One can see, over the years, working with these people, this and this and this being accomplished. One can see where, as a result of our attacking this problem, we got the state to do such and such a thing. We ourselves did this part. We blocked together our little town forest up alongside a state forest, and now we can look ahead and see a permanent forest crop there, enough to maintain our local wood-using industry. It seems to me that it is in that direction that we may look for a really successful functioning of the federal system, through the work of the extension worker and his associates in the local community.

PROBLEMS OF EXTENSION WORKERS IN SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

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Introduction

It should be pointed out that this discussion is based largely upon opinions rather than factual information. If it is interpreted to be critical, it is because I have a desire to see progress made in the maintenance of educational standards among workers who possess a sympathetic spirit of service to agriculture. This is a difficult time to judge values of the extension service in strictly educational terms. We are in a period of severe economic distress generally in farm prices and more particularly in those agricultural areas where production has been extremely limited by adverse conditions. Perhaps more than in any other period, we need to maintain a stability of confidence in agriculture and a wholesome optimistic viewpoint for recovery if agricultural leadership is to be constructively effective. I sense a bewilderment among Extension workers. Let's not be too discouraged if we seem to be confused. There appears now to be a hysteria in the rapidly moving panorama of "saving" programs. Lets take it easy.

The extension service job is composed of a large number of important ingredients, the four major elements being:

1. The farmer, or the farm family, as an individual unit in conducting the farm business and living on the land.
2. The extension worker himself--his training, his characteristics, his limitations.
3. Authoritative Government, which has recently assumed maximum importance.
4. The general public, whose opinion may sooner or later cause significant changes in the development of this form of adult education, depending upon how its welfare seems to be affected.

This discussion presumes to treat the analysis of the extension worker's job and his adjustments to its demands under five points:

1. An analysis of the extension job as it was originally conceived and the trend it is taking towards new requirements.
2. Consideration of the characteristics and limitations of the extension worker on the job.
3. The farmer's changing position in the picture.
4. The authoritative or administrative relationship to the job.
5. The problem of measuring results.

The Extension Job

A cursory analysis of the old extension conception and of the so-called "new job" requirements may afford a starting point. The original arguments made for the passage of the Federal Smith-Lever Act in 1914 defined the extension job as "instruction and aid in agriculture concerning business management; home-making; economic, social, and moral subjects." It is pertinent to note, however, that the act as finally passed possibly intended to limit the extension job to the "diffusion of useful and practical information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics, and to the encouragement for applying the same to farming and homemaking." I presume this accounts for the original emphasis upon the arts of farming, with the adoption of practice demonstrations, both on the farm and in the home, as the principal teaching function of the extension worker. We still make references to Seaman Knapp and his demonstrations as the start and the heart of extension work.

Up to very recent years, the extension effort was developed along the general lines of "offerings" of educational and service assistance to those most capable of taking advantage of the opportunities thus made available. It was intended to be a "free advisory service"--the county agent's office was to be a rural information center, and the sign "COME AND GET IT" might well have been hung in the office windows. The old practical educational theory of "He Who Runs May Read" was the underlying principle involved. Demonstrations of practices for busy farm people who were certainly on the run constituted the principal extension method of teaching. Then came organization influences; group interests became manifest; pressure devices were in evidence; "programs of work" and not separate projects were formulated; relations with many outside agencies were developed, and rather suddenly the extension job grew to include a whole series of requirements that could not have been foreseen in the earlier years. Among these factors, particular stress might be laid upon the influence of organizations and the development of pressure methods in the bringing of various influences to bear upon the extension service.

Today, instead of emphasis upon teaching and demonstrating, advising and counseling on the details of the arts and practices, an entirely different set of job requirements appears to be evident. For a number of years I was interested in studying the county extension agent's job and his relation to the administrative functions maintained by the state and national offices. As an administrator, I was concerned with the functions of this so-called phase of rural adult education. The manner in which the various projects were developed and the many services performed and the teaching methods employed and the results obtained, represented types of inquiries of particular moment to the supervisors and administrators. My general summarization of the present job centers in five types of duties:

1. The planning task.
2. The organizing responsibility.
3. The administration or operating phase of the job.
4. The teaching function.
5. The follow-up or "servicing activities" involved.

These responsibilities demand different approaches to getting the work done than formerly. A new series of requirements and abilities are brought into play. Instead of being largely a teacher, the extension agent becomes a director of many activities--a formulator of policies to effectuate procedure, a manager and administrator. If in many instances the job has grown faster than the workers it must be remembered that new demands have literally changed the entire perspective and blueprints of the outlines upon which the extension work was originally conceived and initiated.

Planning is Important

As a matter of fact, planning is not new in extension work. The pattern has changed and systematic procedure has tended to supplant the haphazard form in which much of the previous planning was done. The new order has occasionally been so emphasized that it may appear to leave the impression that "lack of planning" really has always characterized the extension job. This is not true. The action programs of the national administration have brought renewed emphasis upon the need of wider scopes in planning with large projects involving many more people. More objective procedure has been included in the plans, and in comparison with these requirements the former type of planning may appear relatively insignificant.

Planning, as now interpreted, means dealing in futures. It presupposes need of changes in present conditions and in present trends if the more desirable goals are to be attained. If this is true, then one of the first essentials of planning is knowledge of the important facts about present conditions. A corollary to this is a similar type of knowledge about future possibilities within the capabilities of those concerned in any given plan. It involves a weighing of the desired goals and the ways and means to be adopted to reach those goals. Intelligent planning requires an understanding of the functions of rural people; first as individuals in their farm and home operations; and, second, as social beings with important relations to their fellow farmers, to the community, the state, the nation, and most important of all to the public welfare.

I think sensible planning requires an appreciation of the influences that bear upon rural people, an understanding of how they think and why they act and react as they do, and, particularly, an understanding of what adjustments are possible in limited periods of time. A knowledge of the desires and attitudes of rural people in given situations is most helpful in successful planning. Fundamental changes have taken place in agriculture almost beyond our ready comprehension regarding the objectives of farm life. More or less unconsciously, farmers in the main have become commercial in their operations and in their relations and in their viewpoints. This very fact entails a number of national and international relations for the industry as a whole that were not appreciated a few short years ago.

If we are to plan successfully, the planners will need to develop a sense of values, a sense of proportion, a social consciousness, and a cooperative attitude of mind. In this connection, we should not forget that rather suddenly the farmer is recognizing a new force in the consideration of his place in society. He has always recognized industry as having an important relation to his own business. He has been led to consider labor along with capital and his own land as important ingredients in his production processes. But now "government" begins to assume new proportions in the picture; hence, in the realm of planning, in the

process of analyzing conditions, situations, trends, and possibilities, the factor of "government"--of authority--represents a new force in the farmer's experiences that surely calls for adjustments of viewpoint and creation of sound attitudes if permanent satisfactory results of action programs are to be obtained.

May I use an example to illustrate the point: On July 8 last, a rather important joint statement was made by the land grant colleges and the United States Department of Agriculture relative to building agricultural land use programs. Perhaps this statement, if one is careful in considering the implications involved, really includes the major elements of what I have been trying to say about the need for meeting new demands that are being made upon extension workers. I quote from the joint statement: "New national programs present an increased need for planning and action by farm people. They also place direct responsibility upon the Secretary of Agriculture for the administration of the programs." (This is an illustration of rather new governmental authority). The statement proceeds to indicate that there need to be uniform procedures and sound land use plans, programs and policies, to effect two purposes: "(a) Correlating current action programs to achieve stability of farm income and farm resources; and (b) helping determine and guide the longer time public efforts towards these ends."

To me this clearly indicates the relation of the development of land use plans and policies as affecting the permanent farm income and to achieve the best relationship to the public welfare at the same time. May I quote further from the statement: "In order to function effectively and democratically in the national field, these procedures must provide for analysis, planning, and program building, beginning in the communities and extending then to county, state, and national levels." As one considers the objectives and purposes of any of the important action programs, it becomes apparent that planning, analysis of conditions, the building of programs, the obtaining of uniformity of action, the changing of attitudes of mind, and the relations of the programs to the public welfare, as well as to the farm population, become important elements in obtaining desired results.

Organizing is Likewise Important

The "organizing" function is becoming more and more prominent in the extension job. The manner in which any extension worker organizes his work, his time, his knowledge, his office, his field force, and, most important of all, himself, will largely decide his success. Some very successful teachers of subject matter are inept at planning or organizing, and it becomes apparent that they are not qualified to direct the complex affairs of the present county extension task just because they were good teachers. The ability to organize is not often developed in college. Very few subject-matter courses relate to this important function. Someone has said that organization ability is natural, that one has it or he does not have it, and that it can rarely be acquired. I question this statement, for I feel that individuals can be taught successful organization methods provided they show any aptitude in this direction.

The Administration Factor

Just as the organizing function is fundamental, likewise daily administration or directing of activities in a modern extension office calls for superior management and executive ability. Let us be honest about this factor. Some people have directing ability, others do not. To the extent this ability does

not exist and is not obtained, the work will temporarily suffer, but sooner or later other forces will serve as directing influences if action programs are successfully promoted. Here again the students in agricultural colleges have not been directed to courses that might be helpful in developing this essential characteristic. It is recognized that there are "naturals" in the line of exceptional executive ability, but experience has indicated that a great deal of self-improvement along this line is possible by those who desire to become adept in directive effort.

There are also important changes in the role played by Government supervision that may be called the "authoritative" direction of many phases of the present extension program. In a large sense, the management of the individual farm unit has been the central element in the agricultural progress of this country. The extension service was designed to increase the efficiency of the management factor. The administration of the service recognized the individual farm unit and the educative process of free choice and determination as the common method of procedure. Now we find the approach of authority playing a different role with national objectives, group performance, aggregate adjustments even though the goals are stated in such terms as "parity income," "increased purchasing power," or "farm prosperity."

I am aware of the extreme points of view that are held by those who seem to fear that we are approaching a crisis in the form of education that America is adopting. This conflict is commonly called "education versus indoctrinization." It is being pointed out that education on the individual basis, with free choice and self-determination, belongs to a democracy such as ours, emphasizing freedom of will and of choice. The fear of the other is expressed as coming from authoritative dictation as in the totalitarian states, examples of which are ordinarily pointed out by reference to certain foreign countries. I shall not ask the question as to the trend of the extension service towards what is called "progressive education versus indoctrinization." I am sure that it will persist in the field of democratic free education.

What About the Teaching Function

Has the extension worker primarily been a teacher, and has he been successful as a teacher? Of course, the answer is no and yes. A few have always been good teachers. Many have been fair, but some of us have not been so good. That, however, is not the important question today. Much more significant is the question: "Will the teaching function, once prominent, assume a minor place and possibly disappear, at least in the county agent's job?" Shall extension workers largely carry out prescribed regulations, explain procedure, impart canned information, urge performance and compliance, appeal to "joining" rather than to "choice," measure objective results, or perhaps direct others to do so? Will the agent largely organize groups, call meetings, urge action, and take care of the little details connected with miscellaneous demands upon his time? If so, will he or will he not be a teacher of principles? Will the "why" of actions and their consequences constitute a vital contribution to the reasoning and free choice of those it is designed to reach with adopted programs? If extension workers are to fill this role, have they the training, the time, and the viewpoints to meet the new demands?

Do not misunderstand me. Someone must direct action projects; someone must take care of details. My point is that I can see evidences that the former

primary function of the county extension worker is changing. Perhaps it should, but if so, I shall be interested in watching what agency, if any, assumes the role of teaching and of leading discussions that constitute the "spade" work in preparation for successful conclusions of any program.

The Extension Worker

Just as it is essential to analyze the job, define functions, formulate policies, and increase efficiency of operations, it is helpful to consider some of the characteristics and limitations of the extension worker on the job. In the first place, extension workers have been highly trained in technical subject matter. The institutional influence upon them has been almost wholly technical in nature. There are naturally degrees of abilities in the use of technical knowledge involved, but on the whole the lack of technical training does not represent, in my opinion, an essential weakness or a limiting factor. I have thought our apparent weakness centers in the lack of training in the social sciences and in the lack of experience in the intelligent handling of people. In the extension worker's curriculum there has been little sociology, psychology, or courses of study or opportunity for contacts involving human relation subjects. Most of us have had little opportunity to study planning procedure, organization principles, or personnel management. Perforce we have been compelled to deal with problems objectively. I feel this has been and is today a distinct handicap in making quick adjustments to many extension problems that are non-technical in character. On the other hand Extension workers are really the only group of natural-practical psychologists I know. If they were not, they would not last long. I think they could be better ones with additional training and I am in favor of special opportunities being made available to them for such training. The fact is the exigencies and emergencies of the job do not permit much reflective thinking.

The extension force in any state, similar to any large far-flung organization, is composed of men and women of varying degrees of ability and capacity to combine the functions of the planner, the organizer, the operator, the teacher, and the service specialist. A common human limiting factor centers in the inability to make essential adjustments, to change methods of attack, to adopt new ideas, to assume the responsibilities of administering others, and to develop attitudes of mind essentially different from the previous so-called orthodox educational procedure. Many other human frailties come to the surface in a critical analysis of the extension worker in the active operation of everyday duties. He is subject to many types of pressure. He is dominated by the element of uncertainty as to what to espouse and how to do it. He is constantly aware of the pressure of time and timeliness. He is subject to being the victim of prescribed rules and regulations in many instances. He essentially is not always a free man as to choice, decision, and authority. Not all of this, of course, should be laid at his door. Perhaps it is more accurate to say that many of these limitations refer to the system rather than to the individual.

The Farmer's Position

Formerly the individual farmer was the object of direct extension effort. The farm family was the objective center of attack. Now perforce it is the group attack that is necessary. We are now dealing with majorities versus minorities, with conformists versus non-conformists, and with "national" implications

of operating forces. I am not critical in these statements--they are factual. Suddenly imposed action programs, to be effective, must recognize the distinctive differences between former individual effort and national policy and opportunity for coordinated actions by large numbers of individuals. My point is that today the farmer is in a different position than formerly. The basis of appeal has changed. The "inducements" are more readily recognized. His community relationships are more significant. He can now visualize his stake in a given program, such as the triple "A," in a very practical manner. Whether or not he fully understands the philosophy, the economic possibilities, and all the future complications, is highly doubtful.

Perhaps the most significant change lies in the increased number of farmers as program participants who formerly had not had contact with the extension workers and their projects. There is a wide gulf between the "offerings" of education to those who desire it and who seek it, and the installation of an action program that requires wide participation and in which the very appealing benefit payments are included in the plans. Here the "offerings" become definite proposals in which decisions as to choice and participation are immediately related to the financial compensation to be paid for performance. The need of such programs is not in question in this discussion and the permanency of them is a matter of opinion, colored at present by political considerations. My point is the relation of the farmer to his Government has changed and the effects upon his thinking and his future actions are, at least, interesting speculations.

Has one-half or one-third of the farm population been out of reach of or ignored by the extension service? Is so, I assume such statements to this effect do not constitute an indictment of the workers, but rather of the limitations, financial and otherwise, with which previous projects and programs have been developed. (Refer to statement made at Houston, Texas.) However, I do not admit the implication that these statements have carried. For many reasons, perhaps one-half or one-third, or some other important fraction, of farmers have ignored the extension service. There is a tremendously wide range of desires, attitudes, abilities, and capacities of farmers, just as in any other segment of our population. The important point is that the mode of appeal and method of project participation have suddenly been changed, and the extension service, despite limitations of financial resources, numbers of personnel, and training prerequisites, has attempted to make rather rapid adjustments to the new order, and on the whole I think a fair job of "adjusting" is being done.

Measurements of Results

The annual reports of the extension service are filled with recorded achievements. Great stress has been laid upon statistical evidence. Appropriations are annually requested upon the base of quantitative measurements. Estimates are even made of the additional financial returns that farmers have received from the adoption of home and farm practices. This is not surprising. Every public agency must maintain a defense of its administration. This defense must serve as protection for attacks against it and for ammunition for obtaining funds and personnel for growth and expansion. Publicly supported institutions grow larger, not smaller. The jobs increase. New problems multiply. More funds are needed. In every way every day the functions grow more important. In many respects the extension service is no exception, but to the true educator and to the administrator interested in human progress and welfare, quantitative measurements are only a part of the answer. What about the quality of service rendered that is reflected in changed points of view, in new ideals, in the elevation of

the individual to a higher status from a social standpoint rather than a temporarily changed financial status? Mental growth of the individual is one of the objectives of any worth-while program. The increasing of the appetite for the seeking of knowledge must be a result to be desired. Perhaps some day there will be some measurements of this achievement. The final standing of any program in the long run will be reckoned in terms of self-improvement, the ability for self-determination, self-dependence and freedom of choice of action. No fears of these need to be entertained if the programs are sound, are fully understood, their execution intelligently directed, and their results permanently beneficial.

Conclusion

As adjustments are made, it would seem to me that they will center around changes in attitudes of mind involving a more complete understanding of what "it is all about," together with sympathetic consideration of the human impulses and reactions that characterize groups of individuals. The adjustments will entail the development of sound thinking, with the appeal to reason rather than the appeal to prejudice, and with logic and common sense dominating the participation of extension service on the job. New types of training of extension workers will be involved with greater emphasis upon economics, the social sciences, and with more training in the handling of people. This would seem logical even though it means less emphasis upon technical subject matter. This training will tend to increase the ability of the workers to analyze situations, to weigh various considerations, to reject the unsound, and to incorporate new methods of attack upon old problems. Social attitudes are developed from study, reading, and thinking in social terms. They cannot be absorbed over night.

Possibly some of the problems concerning these adjustments will require penetrating criticisms of programs and methods by competent participants and by competent observers, without too much danger of having such critics termed obstructionists and opponents of the programs. The experimental point of view is valuable in the introduction of far-reaching proposals involving untried approaches to the solution of far-flung economic, social, and humanistic problems. Huge stakes are likely to be involved. Many people will be included in any national or regional program. The political implications may be far-reaching in a democracy such as ours; hence, the need for critical analysis, frank expression of the essential safeguards, and an open-mindedness of administrators and workers would seem essential if the results are to be permanently satisfactory.

Finally, I sound a word of warning against developing too great a class distinction between agricultural groups and other members of society. There is a tendency today to do that very thing. If carried far, this will react to the disadvantage of farm people. Any number of instances could be mentioned to illustrate the point. There is a great deal to be said for maintaining the public welfare point of view, together with the development of a sense of discrimination that will separate the wheat from the chaff and leave a better understanding of what the final goals in any program are likely to be.

SANCTIONS

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Mr. Longmire, I, too, want to thank a number of people here for having sat through so patiently the various meetings that we have held. I don't believe you have missed many people in the list that you gave, Mr. Longmire, and I would like to repeat our gratitude and thanks to those who have come here, including the staff lecturers who are discussion group leaders. Now just how you feel about the last four days I don't know. That remains to be seen.

I have told some Thomas Lamont stories around here, and one of them I think I haven't told to this group--it isn't so much how old the stories are but how new to the group they happen to be. Lamont had gone to an old college reunion, and met an old friend of his and asked him how he was: "Jake, how are you?" And this fellow said, "Well, I'm all right only my hearing's gone bad on me." "Why," Tom said, "I thought your hearing was getting better for a while." "It was." "What happened?" "Well," he says, "you know when I was losing my hearing I went to a doctor and he told me to cut out my drinkin' and I did and my hearin' got better, but the stuff I heard was so much worse than the stuff I drank, that I went back to drinkin' again." So wh-n you people go back to your counties--

Now, I haven't stopped being a college professor long enough to feel the lack of this blackboard that disappeared between the scenes here, but I think probably I can get along without it. When I came up here and looked behind the scenes, I found that it had disappeared completely, and I felt very much like a rather famous golfer who died, and who, upon wakening in the other world, looked about him and said, "Where am I?" and they said, "Why, you're in hell." He bewailed that quite a bit, but he finally said, "Well, I might as well make the most of it." Satan said, "Do you mind going to take a little walk?" And they walked out a little ways and, lo and behold, here was the most magnificent golf course this man had ever seen. He said, "Pardon me, did you say I was in hell?" Satan said, "Yes." "Well," he says, "what about this golf course?" "Just take a look around." They looked over four greens and each one seemed to be even better than the one before, and finally this man said, "You--you mean this is hell?" Satan said, "Yes." He says, "Boy, where are the clubs and the balls?" and Satan said, "That's the hell of it."

Now as the work has progressed this week, you will notice that we left for the last day considerations of administration, and of practical technique, whereas, during the preceding days, for the most part, we were talking about objectives. Now the objectives of the farm program have been declared in legislation. They have also been developed in administrative orders, but at no time is there a feeling in the Department that any of that program is in a final state, and for that reason we have been authorized to go out into the various states and call into question not only the objectives that have already been declared in legislation and formulated, but even call into question the fundamental assumptions upon the basis of which the farm program has developed in the past, and we have attempted to bring to you people of different frames of mind--of course, we can't represent all possible attitudes--but I hope we have brought together here enough of the differentiation of point of view so that you will get the impression that you have come here, not to be told what you should think or what this

program has to be indefinitely in the future, but in order that you may feel exactly the same as you do when you go to a cafeteria and have displayed before you a choice of various objects from which you construct your own meal.

You have heard various points of view exhibited and developed here. You are adults and we hope you have minds of your own, and we hope that the process that has gone on here has been one in which every person in attendance has reflected on the various points of view and the various suggestions made and in the meantime is building up some sort of constructive scheme in regard to our farm problems. Now you may say, "How can I use that when I go back home?" Probably you can't. This school is not intended to be of a type in which information would be brought here to be ladled out to you in tin cups, for you, in turn, to ladle out to the farmers in your own counties. If this gets no further than you, we're perfectly satisfied, because we feel, and this is Dr. C. B. Smith's idea, that the Extension workers have done a splendid job and that they are entitled to have a good time, and, we hope, an intellectual treat, in which they can simply sit down and in an irresponsible way, allow their own opinions to be formulated, as they hear these different points of view expressed. And so we give you no answers. We hope that you, yourselves, will have constituted in your minds a little more clearly some of the objectives which you feel ought to be incorporated into a farm program, and make your opinions felt. Let your judgments be recorded, in your conversations, in your meetings and the like; for only by subjecting them, in turn, to some of the criticisms and reflections of the farmers in your community can we really establish a sound basis for objectives in a farm program, a basis in a democratic society which ultimately has to have the sanction, if I may anticipate the use of that term--the sanction of the rank and file of our citizens.

Well, now, it seems to me that when we get the matter of objectives straightened out, even relatively, the job is only, let us say, half done, and that has been called to your attention this morning. Once the objectives have been formulated, then there comes that problem of administration. Now I have gone so far in my statements on a 50-50 basis; I say half the job is done, which means that half the job is left, and in a remark that Professor Gaus made yesterday I rather assumed that he felt that we have given entirely too little attention to the problem of formulating these objectives, to the problem of legislation. Well, there I differ with him. It seems to me that the legislative job is the lesser half of the job--that the more difficult problem is the problem of administration, especially in America, and I don't care to elaborate on that, because I want to get over to the particular problem that I am scheduled for. But I should simply like to call attention to this one thing--it seems to me that if we have a basic fault in our national life, and I should add further I think it to be the besetting sin in American life, it is an attitude that somehow or other, we can solve all our problems by legislation. We have a scapegoat attitude. The minute we get into trouble we run to Congress or to our State Legislature and ask them to pass a law on the subject, and on the other hand, whenever we translate our whole emotional reaction into a statute, we simply drop all interest in the matter and we are cursed by a set of unenforced laws. And, in a great many cases, it seems to me that that attitude of solving our problems simply by legislative enactment has also piled on our statute books a large number of unenforceable laws; and to me, therefore, the great problem, particularly in American public life in all of the units, all of the political units, is a problem of administration, of actually carrying into concrete practices these objectives which have been formulated with great care.

These objectives present a great deal of difficulty, I'll admit, but in the actual carrying out of their administration--in reality, the functionalizing of these ideals--this is, to my notion, the major problem; and you, as administrative officers, it seems to me, have the more difficult task. Now, if we inquire into the administrative tasks, we find that a great many things are involved. Professor Gaus has pointed out to you this morning the problem of administration and of organization, particularly as it applies to the development of administration in local units and in the relation of the administration of those local units to other forms of administration in other levels of our government. Mr. Peck has shown to you the problems that confront an administrator, particularly as an individual. Those all have to be kept in mind, and it seems to me, regardless of the dire prophecy which evidently seems to have been current in 1933, in regard to the future of Extension, that the ability of the county agent, or rather the farm adviser--I must be careful, I'm in Illinois--and of the home adviser--the ability of our Extension force to rise to the occasion in the last few years has given a justification for the development of the Extension Service, regardless of anything that may have happened prior to that time. And that's just the point that I want to talk with you about.

That is, it seems to me that what we have witnessed is a sociological phenomenon of major proportions, the development, if you please, of a new profession, the profession of Extension Service. Now, how well we are equipped with the technique for the performance of the functions involved in that profession remains to be seen. We are rapidly attempting to correct the difficulties that are obvious to us even before they are obvious to other people, but there are certain things that we must get together and discuss and think through, if we are to maintain this new profession at the level that has been set for us by the opportunities in our rural districts. I think that the sociological significance of that can be demonstrated if you will recall that a hundred years ago, from a social point of view, the focus of community attention was the minister. Toward him the morale of the community was directed. To that man they went with their troubles. That situation has ceased to exist. There are various reasons advanced for it. I think most people will admit the fact. There are various opinions in regard to the reasons for it, but I think one reason was that, as a rule, our ministers failed to keep up with the developments of scientific and social knowledge. They rested content with the type of education and an attitude of mind which had given them leadership prior to that time, but which in a developing society no longer could gain for them the respect and the confidence of their communities. And there was lost at that time a very important and a very vital factor in any community, some center, a personal center, if possible, toward which a community could direct its confidence and make its own consultations, hold its own consultations. Now for a while in our American communities another type of man did come in to perform that function, the banker. In a great many communities that man not only was the economic adviser of the members of his community; but any number of bankers have told me that they had become a sort of repository for all sorts of confidences, of troubles that people had brought to them. In other words, again they performed the function of a father confessor. Now that again has ceased to exist. The unfortunate banking experiences that people went through cut off the sense of confidence they had with that particular form of leader of their community, and I should say that until comparatively recently, our local communities were left without any focal point toward which their confidences could be directed. And in our rural areas it seems to me that this new profession of Extension work, and it is relatively new, and particularly with the newer functions that have been added to it in recent

years, there has arisen an answer to a fundamental sociological need in all of our communities, namely, some person who has kept abreast of the times in scientific and social development, a person whose judgment can be relied upon, to whom individuals can go in trouble, or with whom individuals can talk over their own problems. And it seems to me that if the members of our Extension Service will simply feel the full breadth of that responsibility and realize that, unless they are on the alert, they are just as apt as the minister and the banker in the past to lose that sense of confidence and that sociological focal point. Unless our Extension Service is alert to that situation, either our communities will be left without that important function or someone else will step in and do the job. And that alertness must consist not merely in an attitude of mind, but in painstaking attention to the necessity of training ourselves and broadening our outlook in connection with the events that have bewildered society in these last few years. I feel almost in the position of saluting a new group of people, not who are going to save our society or do anything dramatic or anything else; but always whenever things get a little low in the work that we are doing, I simply vision the work that I have witnessed out in the counties, working side by side with the county agent and there I can feel a sense of full confidence that democracy will go on on an even keel.

Now if we ask then, just where do we stand now in our extension thinking and in our farm thinking, I hope we can say that, so far as objectives are concerned, we may not all agree, but at least the objectives and the alternatives and the issues are fairly clear. But the job now is to administer constructively a program which will, as a matter of fact, be of the best value to our farmers. I should say that's about the stage in which our thinking now is. But out on the farm I don't think we ought to feel that the thinking has come quite to that point. On the farm, as I see it, and as I talk with farmers, I find this sort of reflection, that somehow or other we don't understand all the details of this matter, but we feel that, in general, it's moving in the right direction. That's about the state of farm thinking. Now I have merely two comments to make on that state of affairs: one of them is this, that it quite obviously is an emotional reaction. I think that the favorable attitude on the farm toward the national farm program has been the deep-seated emotional type that cannot bear analysis from the point of view of logical reasoning. Now the second thing that I want to observe is that there's nothing wrong with that; it seems to me that in our modern society, controlled by science and made largely analytical, we have relied entirely too much upon rational analyses of things and haven't, as a matter of fact, given our fundamental emotional reactions enough of a play in the determination of our judgments. I do feel that the emotional reaction on the farm is favorable to this program, and that, I should say, is the characteristic of the type of thinking; but this kind of thinking cannot be expected to go on forever. An emotional reaction may be something which will tide over a state of bewilderment and actually carry people along with a justifiable course of procedure, but you can't rely on that sort of reaction indefinitely. It is necessary to come in and explain matters on a rational basis, and it is our hope--or at least it is my hope, as I go out in the country districts and see the state of present farm thinking, that there will enter into this good disposition on the part of farmers, in the main, a larger and larger element of rational explanation. And certainly this is true, when we find certain farmers complaining because in the administration of the program, they seldom are taken into account until the time comes when they are submitted a paper and told, "Sign on the dotted line." Certainly that is a legitimate objection. There should be more explanation, more educational work, in connection with the development of the program, and not merely the dangling of a check in front of a farmer and the presentation of a paper to sign.

That brings me to my subject, "Sanctions." Sanctions I should like to define first, and then I should like to illustrate. Sanctions are forces. They are forces which compel and impel human behavior. Sanctions are forces which can be applied from without, in order to make people do certain things. Sanctions are those forces which all of us have recognized at times, which develop within us and impel us to a certain course of behavior. Now let's not worry about that definition. Let's just take some illustrations.

What I want to do is to list the types of sanctions that are available to social administrators and then I want to look at those a minute and judge them a bit as regards their relative effectiveness, and then I want to do that more difficult thing of reexamining these various sanctions that might be listed here and judge them from a point of view of their desirability in a democratic society.

Among the sanctions that might be mentioned, there are two that have been utilized by law, very effectively, one of them the physical sanctions and second, the economic. Some of you perhaps were first introduced to this word recently by the episodes in connection with the Ethiopian conquest when you learned that England and Italy, talking over the council table, came to certain agreements, but that those agreements, or at least the position of England, was sanctioned by moving her fleet down into the Mediterranean Sea. That is, these physical sanctions, guns and clubs and battleships and the like, have been used by nations and by the enforcement officers of the law, in turn, and used very effectively. If you want a man to get from one side of this stage to the other, you can push him over there, or you can pull him over, with physical violence, which is to be classed with this same sort of thing. And in some countries it is an exceedingly effective sanction. I ran across one experience where it even came in contact with the administration of the farm program. We had a meeting down on the eastern shore of Maryland, and in the course of the conversation that developed, one man got up--he was a committeeman and very much in favor of the program; he got quite excited about it and said, "I'll just tell you this one thing, if you give me a good baseball bat and three days free movement, we'll have compliance in this county." And when I found out later that the man who spoke was "Home Run" Baker, who used to play on the Philadelphia team--some of you grey haired fellows and fellows that haven't any grey hair or any other kind of hair--may remember "Home Run" Baker, and I don't doubt a bit that "Home Run" Baker, equipped with a baseball bat, could get a very effective compliance with any kind of a program. That's a physical sanction.

Now the laws also utilize economic sanctions. If people don't behave themselves, they are fined and, of course, a very effective way into anybody's mode of behavior is through the pocketbook. An old North Carolina story tells of a judge who effectively sanctioned what he had declared. A lawyer had been talking entirely too much and the judge finally called him before the bench and said, "You're guilty of contempt of court and I am fining you \$5.00." This lawyer took out his roll and peeled off five dollar bills, put them on the bench and said, "Your Honor, it's worth \$5.00 just to tell you what I think of you. Now, while I've got a chance to talk, I'm going to tell you just one more thing." And the judge says, "Now I'm fining you again for contempt of court, and this time it's \$10.00." Well, the lawyer peeled off ten dollars, and quietly took his seat. That's an economic sanction. We are using economic sanctions in the development of the farm program. The allotment check, if you please, is an economic sanction, and I understand from some of the gentlemen who are very much opposed to the New Deal, to the West of us here, we heard this out in Nebraska, that if the allotment checks were stopped, the whole thing would blow up in no time, and it may be true, and I want to examine that situation. I want to ask the question,

"Is it possible to develop a farm program such as we have had, or perhaps formulate it even more or even better than it has been, into a more desirable Federal program? Is it possible to have a program of that sort and enforce it or have it complied with, without the benefit check?" And I am going to anticipate the evaluation of these sanctions by saying that the farm program could well be improved by a little more attention to the selection of more justifiable sanctions than what we have had in the past.

I want to pass to just a few more of these that I have on the list. There are aesthetic sanctions, if you please. I am going to choose one quite different from what we ordinarily think of--there are aesthetic sanctions that control the conduct of human behavior. People are appealed to by a sense of good taste. Now to give a concrete illustration of it--this illustration may pass from the sublime to the ridiculous, but nevertheless, I think it illustrates the point: A henpecked husband, who finally got tired of it all, took his position besides the china closet, and every time his wife uttered another word, he reached in and broke another dish. It happened to be her pet set of dishes, and when he got half way through the set, she finally quit talking. That's an aesthetic sanction, if you please. And I sometimes wonder whether we haven't unconsciously, as a matter of fact, utilized some of these aesthetic sanctions. I am firmly of the belief that compliance in the South, particularly on the part of Negroes, and in the direction of what I think is a better balanced farm program, in the direction, if you please, of subsistence farming, rather than the cultivation of a cash crop, I think that that compliance has come about in part through aesthetic sanctions. Compliance has gotten to be so widespread and is of such a magnitude that recently a Commission which went down to investigate some of the diseases that have cursed the South, have discovered that the improved nutritional behavior and practices have reduced some of those diseases to a minimum; and if you look at the way by which that has been done, by increasing the garden plots, I suggest giving first place among the sanctions of that compliance to a song which every negro down South knows, "I'll Grow My Whole Supply," and if you want a real treat, you'll hear that sung by hundreds of Negroes, as I have heard it sung, who through the singing of that song, I believe, are given more of an impetus to comply with the program than all the speeches of the college professors or of the Department of Agriculture put together. You know, there was an interesting old Scotchman who said once, "If you will let me write the ballads of the people, you may write their laws." We are governed in various ways. I remember a rather interesting thing that came up at the beginning of this program. We had a meeting of Negroes down in Memphis, and they were very suspicious of all this, but finally, when they were just teetering and you could see that no one knew how they were going to make up their minds, an old gentleman got up in front, white hair all around here and with his cane shaking and said, "Brethren, I can't read and I don't write, but I know this--if we don't go on with the A.A.A., we ain't gwine to B.B.B.," and that caught the fancy of these colored folks and their sense of humor, and I should say that that again had more to do with developing a favorable attitude on the part of the Negro leaders in the South than all the statistical tables that had been brought down there by the carload.

There are various ways by which society and social administrators can utilize sanctions. There are various types of sanctions that can be utilized, once the objectives are perfectly clear. Now we have had propaganda mentioned. There is propaganda. Our psychologists, in developing the science of psychology, and, particularly, in applied psychology, and among those men who have left academic ranks in order to serve business, have developed a mode of getting people to do things, particularly to buy certain objects, which is far beyond an

art. It has become a science. I think that Professor ten Hoor paid his compliments to all forms of propaganda of that type, and I subscribe wholeheartedly to that--we all do. I am merely mentioning these various things that are available to us, just as we had various objectives previously mentioned to us, for our choice.

Now there is public opinion. Public opinion, Woodrow Wilson thought, was a sufficient sanction for a League of Nations. He objected to such things as an international army or an international navy. Whether he was correct or not, I don't know whether we are even able to judge now. Many of us are skeptics, of course; but you may recall that in the difficulties in connection with Ethiopia, the development of public opinion in England did effectively halt one policy of the party in power, at a time when that party was under no compulsion whatsoever to subject its policies to the electorate. We depend upon it, in this country, and we differentiate between the propaganda types and the sort of thing which, as we fundamentally assume in our democracy, develops what we call intelligent public opinion. Is it possible, for example, to develop public opinion among our farm leaders, and I mean now farmers, in such a way as to make some of the things that are incorporated in our farm program respectable in the best sense--such that it would no longer be necessary to place the burden on the economic appeal of the allotment check. You may say, "Well, what does Washington think about that?" It doesn't make any difference what Washington thinks about it. That's a question for all of us to decide, and you, as administrators, carry, in part, the responsibility of determining in your own minds, whether the ways that you have used for securing compliance are ways that fit in with the permanent preservation of our democratic society.

There is such a thing as I hope may have troubled you at times, there is another sanction, conscience. In the past 15 or 20 years, you have heard a great deal of the development of business ethics, by which business men were to be governed in their behavior, other than by the law. A great many business men held that the fundamental sanction of business conduct was conscience. I am very much afraid that that conscience operated just as Huck Finn said it did--he said, "The trouble with conscience is that although it fills up most of your insides, you never know which way it's going to jump." It's an undependable, unscientific sanction in our society. My guess is that it is used far less today in the thinking of people, in connection with problems of this sort, than it was a hundred years ago. I have no doubt but what it was an effective sanction in the past, but it has been so abused by the hypocrite that I should say that those who rely on conscience are relying upon a very unscientific instrument. Some people have so much more of it than others, and I never can understand how a society could be constructed on a basis which handicaps the conscientious person to the advantage of the hypocrite and the person with a calloused conscience.

There are such things as symbols. Why is it that when a flag is carried down the street, men's hats come off? If it were the wind, that would be probably a physical mode of compelling certain types of behavior, but here is something that cannot be explained by anybody in a chain of causation. How does it happen that this afternoon during the football game I can predict that when a whistle blows there will develop human behavior that involves the expression of energy. It is difficult to measure. What is it? Was it the whistle that did it? The professor's chalk sometimes elicits human behavior in a peculiar way. The Sergeant at Arms marches down the aisle finally to quell a turbulent Congress that apparently couldn't be quelled any other way; rituals of all sorts. Now perhaps those sanctions are available. Roberts' Rules of Order control the behavior of human beings, and if you try to analyze them and to find out why they

rationally exist, in a great many cases they are purely arbitrary rules, and they exist as symbols of orderly conducting of meetings. Then there is authority. Authority is a sanction. The Supreme Court is vested with the authority to declare things that result from social behavior that never could be secured by those nine men merely on the basis of their physical power, or even their economic pressure. Well, how does it happen? Can anyone explain that on the basis of physical causation?

And now we come to some that we have talked about and now let's put them in their place. Reason is a sanction. If you sit down and talk with a person in order to convey to him the idea you may have as to why a certain thing should be done, and he disagrees with you and you reason with him and you get him to agree with you, and the two of you together combine in the enforcement of that particular act or combine in pursuing a certain course of behavior, apparently the rational process has been a sanction of his behavior. As a matter of fact, it has sanctioned your behavior because it has intensified your behavior in view of the fact that you have enlisted his support with yours. Again there is education. The Catholic Church will tell you, "If you let us have the boy and girl until they are nine years of age, the devil can have them the rest of the time." The power of education in securing compliance to social ideals is a fundamental assumption in our democracy. It is available to the administrators. To my notion, the processes of reasoning and the processes of education are the permanent sanctions of any desirable social policy, of a desirable agricultural program. Those who live across the waters in certain other countries disagree with us. We've heard democracy damned, we've heard it ridiculed, but now here we stand, just as we have in the last few days, standing with our tray before a set of objectives, and I hope each one has had his meal and has digested it, and probably is reorganizing it in some way so that the next time you go along with your tray, you will probably build even a better lunch than you did before.

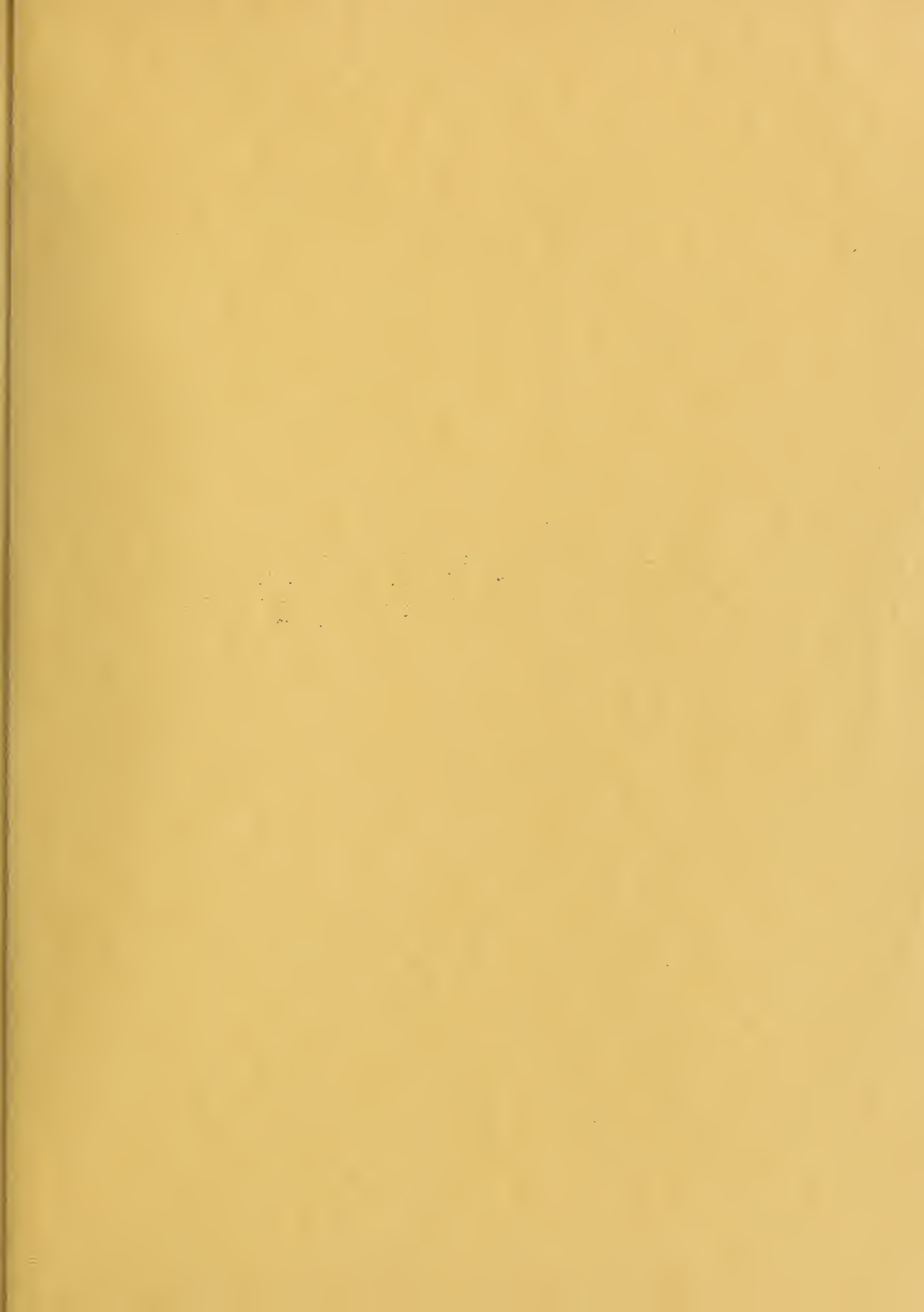
And now we face exactly the same thing in the utilization of the means by which these objectives are to be effected; objectives which it is hoped each one individually has arrived at, and means which we shall select in the administration of our conception of the program in our local communities. And again we leave that to you. I call your attention, however, to certain criteria. If your sole concern is effective administration of the program, then I bid you lean heavily on physical and economic sanctions, if that is your sole concern. They are the most effective sanctions that have ever been developed in any society. But on the other hand, if you have a concern, and as a citizen, you should have a concern, for the welfare of our democratic progress, then I bid you examine seriously in your capacity as an administrator, the means at your disposal for securing compliance with a national agricultural program. And I highly recommend that you reduce to a minimum not only the physical types of sanctions but some of those equally vicious types of browbeating and unfairness that may secure compliance temporarily, but which will never secure a permanently desirable program, I bid you think pretty seriously on ways and means by which we can relinquish this appeal of the check, the bribery of our farmers, if you please, as the opponents of the program have called it, and see whether you can direct our administrative activities in the direction of other sanctions that are available to you, as public administrators; which sanctions, in turn, will be more in compliance with the spirit of our democracy, with the spirit of a self-governing people. Now, if you thought in the last few days that an attempt to understand and determine the objectives of our program is a difficult job, I warn you that far more difficult is this administrative job in your behavior, of actually participating in the perpetuation, and it's to be hoped in the improvement, of

our democratic society. It's not words that are going to count--it's actions; actions toned by the self-restraint which your reflective reasoning dictates to you constantly are necessary if we are to preserve the things that we hold most dear in our public life.

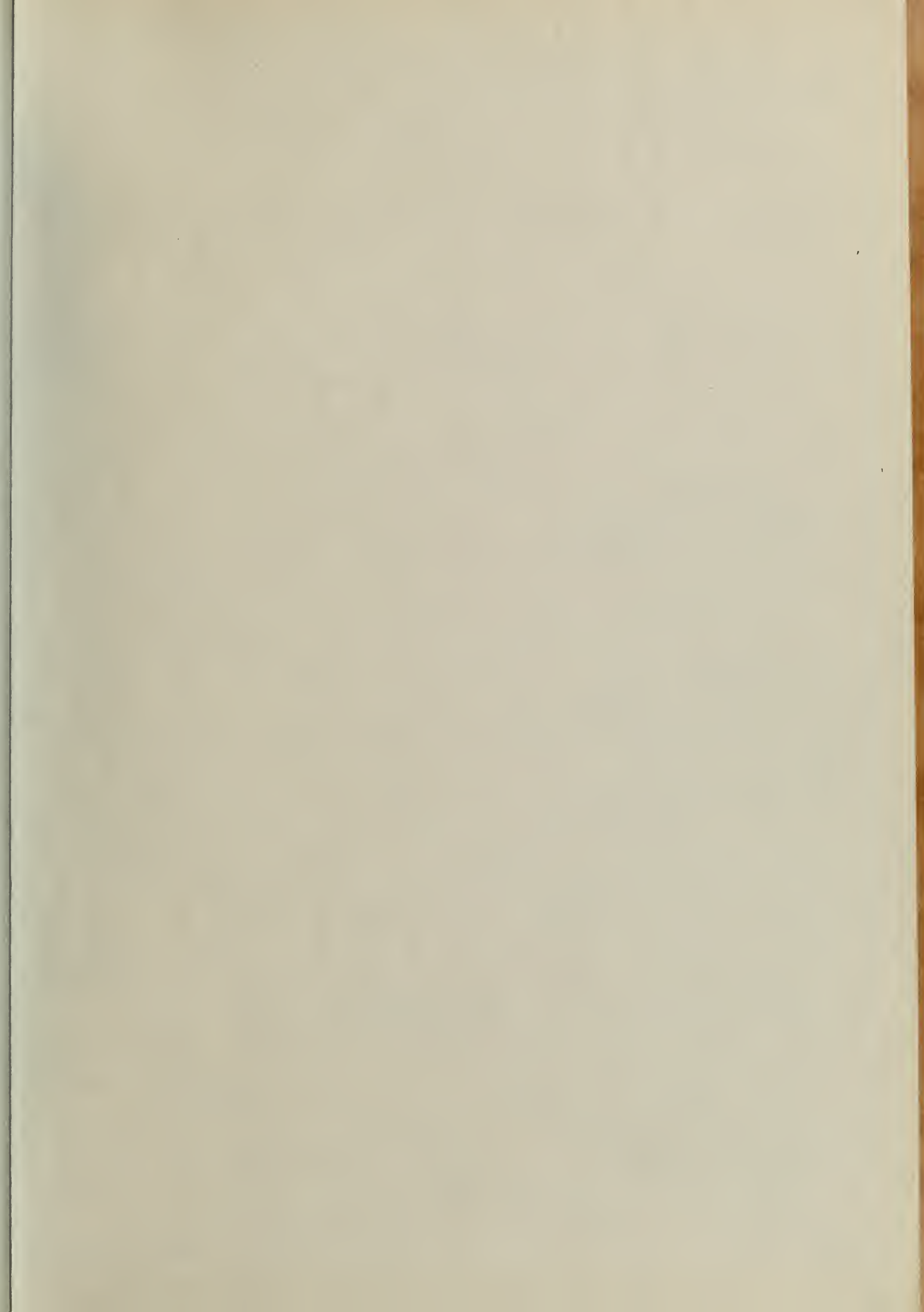
I probably ought to close with some sort of a fine conclusion. I feel a bit incapable of doing that. Perhaps I can illustrate to you how I feel in regard to this whole situation. The Extension worker has been under fire, but those who have criticized him, especially with the type of harping criticism that you must know is current, who have criticized him or her in my presence, have run up against a real snag, because to me the Extension worker is the salt of the earth. I am always reminded of the story of the Milwaukee policeman, whenever anyone comes up to me and starts something about the Extension Service. Some fellow came up to this Milwaukee policeman, all out of breath, and he said to him, "What is the quickest way to the hospital?" This policeman looked at him a minute, and he said, "Why, just go around the corner to Mike Murphy's saloon and cry out 'To hell with the Pope'". And if anybody wants to start anything with me or find the quickest way to the hospital, I simply advise them to say something about the Extension Service.

I think you've been very patient with us; I am sure, from the accounts the staff officers have given us, they have all enjoyed meeting with you. Again we have had a member on our staff who had never seen a county agent before; again we have engaged in the process of educating the college professors. I assure you that if we all put our shoulders to the wheel and realize the fact that we have a common problem which challenges the very best that you've got in you, I hope, and sincerely believe that, we may be able to call this conference a fair success. Thank you very much.

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